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UNIVERSITÄT OR UNIVERSITY? Organisational Identity in Translation, and Why German Universities Look Different in English

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UNIVERSITÄT OR UNIVERSITY?

Organisational Identity in Translation, and Why
German Universities Look Different in English

Stephanie Clare Ashford

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Business Administration
(Higher Education Management)

University of Bath

School of Management

April 2019

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the role of translation in representations of organisational identity (OI) within the institutional field of German higher education. The increased use of English in teaching and research has been accompanied by burgeoning demand for translation in administration and marketing, with significant implications for organisational profiling and institutional positioning.

Current OI literature reflects a growing interest in the relationship between language and identity in complex organisations. However, studies are largely confined to monolingual organisations. This thesis contributes to the literature by examining the distorting effects of translation on the self-representation of German universities, as exemplars of highly institutionalised organisations with multiple stakeholders, and where a second language (L2) threatens to eclipse the first. It also builds on research in higher education branding by drawing attention to linguacultural issues that arise when universities seek to reconcile their domestic and international profiles.

The conceptual framework applies neo-institutional and critical management theory to the postmodern concept of the organisation as a text. A mixed methods research approach combining interviews, questionnaires, comparative text analysis, database analysis, semiotics, and the study of ‘linguistic landscapes’ is employed to provide data on actor dynamics (RQ1), the nature of language shift and distortions in translation (RQ2), and the strategic use of translation in profiling and positioning (RQ3). The notion of ‘translation flashpoints’ is introduced as an analytical device for studying tensions in multilingual organisations.

The investigation identifies visible and invisible actors in translation, and three categories of distortion. Rationales for translation, practices in branding and labelling, and the role of translator networks in creating sector-wide convergence in L2 profiling are discussed with reference to neo-institutional concepts of legitimacy, rationalised myths, loose coupling, and isomorphism. Attention is also drawn to the unintended consequences of institutional translation.

The thesis concludes with recommendations for identity and translation management, and topics for further research.

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

AmE/AE	American English
BaySev	<i>Bayerische Servicestelle für englischsprachige Verwaltungsdokumente an Hochschulen</i> / Website providing English-language administrative documents for universities in Bavaria
BDÜ	<i>Bundesverband der Dolmetscher und Übersetzer e.v.</i> / Federal Association of Interpreters and Translators
BrE/BE	British English
CAT	Computer-assisted translation
CED	central, enduring and distinctive (categories of attributes said to constitute an organisation's identity)
CEFR	Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (published by Cambridge: CUP 2001)
CLIL	Content and Language Integrated Learning
DAAD	<i>Deutsche Akademische Austauschdienst</i> / German Academic Exchange Service
DFG	<i>Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft</i> / German Research Foundation
DHBW	<i>Duale Hochschule Baden-Württemberg</i> / State University of Cooperative Education Baden-Wuerttemberg
DHBW VS	<i>Duale Hochschule Baden-Württemberg Villingen-Schwenningen</i> / State University of Cooperative Education Villingen-Schwenningen
DHV	<i>Deutscher Hochschulverband</i> / German Association of University Professors and Lecturers
EAP	English for Academic Purposes
EHEA	European Higher Education Area
ELF	English as a lingua franca
EMI	English-medium instruction
GDPR	General Data Protection Regulations
GNMTS	Google Neural Machine Translation System
HEI	higher education institution / institute of higher education
HRK	<i>Hochschulrektorenkonferenz</i> / German Rectors' Conference
INGO	international non-governmental organisation
L2	foreign language other than native language (L1 first language, L2 second language, L3 third language, etc.)
MWK	<i>Ministerium für Wissenschaft, Forschung und Kunst Baden-Württemberg</i> / Ministry for Science and Art
SME	plural: Small and Medium-sized Enterprises
StuV	<i>Studierendenvertretung</i> / student representatives, local student union
TMS	translation memory software; terminology management system

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1 Introduction

1.1 Background and aims

The field of higher education in Europe is subject to twin processes of convergence and differentiation, where a combination of competitive and institutional pressures impels universities to sharpen their international profiles and position themselves more clearly in relation to one another (Mampaey, Huisman and Seeber, 2015, p.37).

In mainland Europe, these pressures have been accompanied by a shift to English and the adoption of academic conventions and traditions associated with the Anglophone world, a phenomenon referred to variously as ‘Anglicisation’ or ‘Englishisation’, and often pejoratively. The literature on this topic has focused largely on language policy issues arising from the proliferation of English-taught degree programmes, and from the growing pressure on academic staff to publish in English (Kirkpatrick, 2011; Hultgren and Lanvers, 2018; Phillipson, 2006; Boussebaa and Brown, 2017). Yet the shift to English also has implications for administration, student services, marketing, and internal communications, where staff in non-academic roles find themselves having to switch between languages, or resort to translation services.

Indeed, any non-Anglophone university seeking to tailor its profile to multiple audiences and integrate foreign students and academics into its institutional culture is likely to be engaged in a continuous and complex process of self-translation. This raises the question of how much gets lost in translation, and whether it matters.

It is a matter of debate for linguists as to whether the world looks different in other languages (Deutscher, 2011; McWhorter, 2014), yet few would dispute that organisational identity is a social construct, influenced by culture and mediated through language. Thus, it can be taken as given that any organisation will look different when viewed through the filter of another language. Yet the process of translation creates further distortions. Aspects of culture may be unwittingly misrepresented or suppressed (Faiq, 2008), and a substandard translation that is misleading, or that undermines efforts to project an image of professionalism, not only produces inefficiencies but also exposes the organisation to reputational risks. On the other hand, translation creates opportunities. Language is often manipulated in pursuit of organisational goals (Ihlen and Heath, 2018; Fiol, 2002), so distortions in translation may also be strategic.

The organisational identity ramifications extend beyond the distorting potential of translation. When languages and cultures rub up against one another, friction is

inevitable. Controversies over identity-related terminology can bring underlying organisational tensions to the surface (Hinds, Neeley and Cramton, 2013), but also focus attention on ‘who we are as an organisation’.

The broad aim of this thesis is to investigate the role of translation in representations of organisational identity. Specifically, it examines the distorting effects of translation on the self-representation of German universities, and the strategic use of English as a second language (L2) for purposes of organisational profiling and institutional positioning. The modern university, as a complex and multi-purpose social institution catering to different stakeholders and markets, presents an interesting and challenging subject of organisational analysis in its own right, especially in view of the changing relationship between the university and society (Enders, 2013, p.5). The issue of what constitutes legitimacy as a university has an added dimension in non-Anglophone universities such as those in Germany, where an influential L2 threatens to eclipse the first, and where academic cultures and traditions collide.

There is a further reason why German higher education lends itself to this investigation. Across the sector, the burgeoning demand for translation services has fostered a unique and thriving professional community of university translators, and more recently the establishment of state-funded bodies for coordinating higher education translation matters. My investigation foregrounds the role of translators in construing and constructing representations of organisational identity, and considers whether efforts to standardise higher education terminology in the target (English) texts contribute to an illusion of greater institutional uniformity, whereby different types of higher education institution look more similar in English than in German.

The need for wholesale institutional self-translation in German universities is a recent phenomenon, and the challenges of bilingual branding and marketing present an exciting new field of research. Therefore, my investigation also builds on studies of higher education branding (Naidoo, Gosling, Bolden et al., 2014; Mampaey, Huisman et al., 2015) by drawing attention to the linguistic issues that arise when universities seek to reconcile their domestic and international profiles.

As well as contributing to the literature and suggesting pathways for future research, this thesis offers evidence-based recommendations for improving practice in higher education branding, translation management, and organisational development.

1.2 Conceptual framework and research design

In the organisational identity literature, conceptualisations of the term ‘organisational identity’ vary according to the targeted readership (practitioner/academic) and the

author's underlying ontological and epistemological assumptions. This thesis draws mainly on the academic literature, much of which is influenced by the linguistic turn in organisational studies (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000, Tietze, Cohen and Musson, 2003) and by ideas and concepts associated with postmodernism, critical management theory, and neo-institutionalism. These include a tendency to view organisations as 'unbounded' or 'permeable' entities, and an interest in actor dynamics, processes of identity work (Brown, 2015), institutional pressures (e.g. Kodeih and Greenwood, 2014), and relationships between language, culture and identity (Ran and Duimering, 2007; Loewenstein, 2014), with Alvesson and Robertson making a strong case for treating organisations as cultures in themselves (2016). There is also increased interest in linguistic methods of analysis (Phillips and Malhotra, 2017; Oswick, 2012).

Generally, the organisational identity literature has focused on organisations with one official language of communication, with the important exception of studies dealing with identity-related issues arising from the adoption of English as a second language in non-Anglophone organisations (e.g. Boussebaa and Brown, 2017; Lønsmann, 2017; Neeley, 2013). This thesis contributes to the literature by focusing on the role of translation in bilingual representations of identity in non-Anglophone universities, as exemplars of internationally oriented, highly institutionalised organisations.

The conceptual framework can be visualised as a triptych (Figure 1.1) in which core concepts and themes are grouped under three headings (actor dynamics, language shift, language as strategy), integrated by the theme of translation.

Figure 1.1 – Conceptual framework

Actor dynamics	Language shift	Language as strategy
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Translators as identity workers • Processes of identity formation and regulation • Translation as extended metaphor for diffusion of ideas and practices across organisations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Linguaculture • Language policy • Linguistic capital and Q-value • Organisational vocabularies L1 vs L2 • Organisational Englishisation and identity regulation • Institutional translation, <i>skopos</i>, transcreation, myth of equivalence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • L2 and translation in profiling and positioning • L2 and legitimacy (myths/scripts, loose coupling, isomorphism) • L2 and branding (strategic balance, rhetoric) • Symbolic and cultural capital through L2

The first element, actor dynamics, builds on the organisational identity and critical management literature by foregrounding the role of translators as (invisible) identity workers, examining how their work relates to processes of identity construction and regulation (e.g. Kang, 2014; Koskinen, 2008; Tietze, Tansley and Helienek, 2017; Sela-Scheffy, 2014). Translation is also an extended metaphor for how ideas and practices spread across organisations (Czarniawska and Sevón, 1996; Dow, 2011).

The second element, language shift, draws on sociolinguistics, organisation studies, the Anglicisation literature, and research in institutional translation. A core concept is ‘linguaculture’, which encapsulates the intrinsic relationship between language, culture and meaning (Tietze, Cohen, et al. 2003). As an organising principle, Spolsky’s tripartite model of language policy as practices, beliefs, and interventions (2012) directs attention to organisational vocabularies (Loewenstein, 2014), notions of the socio-economic value of a language, notably ‘linguistic capital’ (Bourdieu, 1977) and ‘Q-value’ (De Swaan, 2013), ‘organisational Englishisation’ as a form of identity regulation (Boussebaa and Brown, 2017), and concepts from translation theory that include *skopos* (Reiss and Vermeer, 1984), foreignisation and domestication (Venuti, 2008), transcreation and localisation (Rike, 2013), and the illusion of equivalence in institutional translation (Koskinen, 2000; 2008).

The third element, translation as strategy, concerns the instrumental use of translation for profiling and positioning. It links neo-institutionalist concepts of legitimacy, rationalised myths, loose coupling, and isomorphism (DiMaggio and Powell, 1983; Meyer and Rowan, 1977) with Bourdieu’s concepts of symbolic and cultural capital (Lomer, Papatsiba and Naidoo, 2016). Of further relevance is how language is used in higher education branding to gain positional advantage (Alvesson, 2013; Lomer, Papatsiba and Naidoo, 2016) or achieve strategic balance (Mampaey, Huisman et al., 2015), where English also has a symbolic function.

From this conceptual framework, three research questions emerge:

- RQ1** Who are the actors involved in higher education translation, and how does their work relate to aspects of organisational identity? (*actor dynamics*)
- RQ2** In what ways can translation into English have a distorting effect on how German universities represent themselves, and what are the mitigating factors? (*language shift and distortions in translation*)
- RQ3** How are German universities using English for purposes of organisational positioning/profiling, both in their domestic and international contexts? (*strategic use of translation*)

I answer these questions using a mixed method, partly ethnographic, and largely qualitative approach that combines semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, comparative text analysis, semiotics, the use of databases, and the observation of ‘linguistic landscapes’. The notion of ‘translation flashpoints’ is introduced as analytical tool for studying organisational tensions in multilingual settings.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

The thesis can be conceptualised as an hourglass. The upper-half (Part I) represents the theoretical input, and the lower-half (Parts II and III) the empirical investigation and the outcome of the study.

Part I (Theory) comprises two literature reviews. The first deals with the literature on organisational identity, presenting a broad-lens view of the various perspectives. It then narrows the focus to the linguistic turn and the literature on language policy and planning. In doing so, it demonstrates why language matters in organisational studies. The second literature review focuses on institutional translation and ‘translating the university’, and explains why this is a fruitful direction for research.

Part II (Empirical investigation) is divided into two sections. The first presents the research context, beginning with the background issues of language and identity in European higher education, before honing in on the German context and the topic of institutional self-translation, and concluding with the research questions (RQs). The second section presents the research design, explaining the methodological principles, the mixed methods approach, the sources and instruments of data collection for each of the RQs, my role as a researcher, and the ethical considerations pertaining to this investigation.

Part III (Outcomes) has three sections. The first presents the findings with some initial analysis, and is structured according to the three RQs. This is followed by section that discusses the findings with reference to the theory presented in Part I. The third and final section reprises the key findings in the form of a response to the core questions, reflecting on the contributions and limitations of this thesis, and concluding with recommendations for management practice and further research.

1.4 Terminology

Frequent reference is made in this thesis to ‘identity’, ‘culture’ and ‘institution’, abstract concepts that are notoriously difficult to define (see for example Koskinen 2008, p. 45). Rather than venturing definitions myself, I instead seek to unpack the various senses in which the terms are used.

It is also in the nature of my topic that I cite from both English and German sources. Where quotations are taken from German sources, the translations are my own. For names of German organisations without an official translation, and for concepts specific to the German higher education system, I present the German name or concept in italics, followed by a translation or clarification in brackets.

In English-language studies of German higher education, the convention is to refer to any tertiary-level institution collectively as a higher education institution (HEI), or institute of higher education, and to translate when it comes to a particular type (e.g. university of applied sciences for *Fachhochschule*). However, I choose to retain the German labels. One reason is that the use of English translations of German labels might suggest an overly ‘Anglocentric’ approach, which can be avoided by adopting the local terminology. Another reason is that English translations found in the literature are usually only rough equivalents, and may even be misleading. Finally, since my study is also concerned with how organisational actors respond to issues arising in translation, it is worth familiarising the reader with the relevant German terms.

To this end, a German-English glossary is provided with translations that are relatively uncontentious (APPENDIX A). However, a recurrent theme of my thesis is that translation choices relating to aspects of identity and culture can be highly tendentious. I refer to such terms as ‘flashpoints’ because they ignite controversy that illuminates deeper organisational and institutional tensions. Examples relevant to German higher education are listed in Table 6.6.

The thesis follows British English (BE) conventions in spelling, except for quotations written in American English (AE). Thus, the original spelling is retained even when at the expense of consistency, for example where ‘organisation’ and ‘organization’ appear in the same paragraph.

PART I - Theory

2 Organisational Identity

Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on organisational identity, drawing attention to aspects relevant to higher education management and areas warranting further research. It is divided into two sections: ‘Perspectives on organisational identity’, and ‘Why language matters’.

The first section presents an overview of different approaches to the topic of organisational identity. It begins by tracing the evolution of the concept, explaining both its appeal and the critical responses in the literature. It also provides a synthesis of previous literature reviews that identify and interpret dominant perspectives with reference to their underlying ontological and epistemological assumptions.

It then examines conceptual distinctions between identity, image, and culture in relation to organisational representation, corporate branding, and strategic positioning. This is followed by a review of literature that approaches the topic of organisational identity from an institutional, field-level perspective. The section concludes with an overview of current debates and trends in the literature.

The second section narrows the focus to the role of language in organisational identity. It begins with an appraisal of the linguistic turn in organisational and management research, before turning to the literature on language policy and planning. Conclusions are then drawn that pave the way to the literature on translating institutions, the focus of Chapter 3.

2.1 Perspectives on organisational identity

2.1.1 Conceptual roots

The coining of the expression ‘organisational identity’ is credited to Albert and Whetten (1985), who argued that an organisation has an identity to the extent that there is a shared understanding among members of its central, enduring and distinctive (CED) features. The notion that an organisation might have its own identity or character was not new. Indeed, the personification of organisations goes back as far as the legal tradition in Ancient Rome of according certain types of

association known as *collegia* (guilds, social clubs, burial societies) the status of a legal person with some of the same rights and responsibilities as individuals. This tradition is itself rooted in Stoic philosophy, which held that an intangible unity composed of tangible objects had its own '*spiritus*' (Patterson, 1983).

Academic interest in collective identities has its roots in the fields of psychology, social psychology and sociology, from where it spread to organisation studies (Pratt, Schultz et al, 2016, p. 1). The view of the organisation as an actor with a distinctive character can be traced to Selznick, who held that each organisation has the capacity to develop "a life of its own" (Selznick, 1949, p. 10; King, 2015). The theories of institutional isomorphism and decoupling that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s (Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Tolbert and Zucker, 1983; DiMaggio and Powell, 1983) can be seen as an elaboration of these ideas. Although their theories purport to explain similarity rather than difference, they share the belief that organisations have an essential identity.

As academic interest in organisational identity grew, the notion of 'corporate identity' as an organisational extension of brand identity gained currency for marketing and corporate strategy (Watkiss and Glynn, 2016, p. 317). Yet it was not until organisational identity had been conceptualised in its own right by Albert and Whetten that the literature began to proliferate (Glynn, 2008, p. 415).

Pratt, Schultz and colleagues (2016) offer four explanations for the appeal of the concept. First, all major branches of social science are interested in how collectives define themselves. This involves identifying the essential qualities of the collective, and what makes it similar or different to others in the same field. Second, the topic lends itself to being examined from different angles. Typically, organisational identity is treated as a relational construct, whereby one aspect is understood in term of its opposite, e.g. them/us, past/future, similar/different (See also Hatch and Schultz, 2000, p. 12). It also allows for different levels of analysis, for example where organisational behaviour is analysed with reference to institutional dynamics. The third explanation for the interest in organisational identity lies in its role as a nexus concept, described by the authors as a "place" for other theories and research traditions to "hang out" (p. 4). These include, for example, theories of power and politics, culture, sense-making, institutional logics, organisational change, and communication. Finally, organisational identity is regarded as an inherently useful concept for pragmatic reasons (2016, pp. 3-5), such as when an identity is contrived for the purpose of corporate branding.

A further indicator of the topic having become established is the emergence of new strands and interpretations. Notable examples include 'organisational identification'

(Ashforth and Mael, 1989), ‘impression management’ (Ginzel, Kramer and Sutton 1993), and ‘organisational image’ (Alvesson 1999). The literature has also generated critical responses and several reviews. In 2000, the *Academy of Management Review* devoted a special issue to organisational identity. More recently, the literature has been reviewed comprehensively by He and Brown (2013), Gioia, Patvardhan et al (2013) and contributors to the *Oxford Handbook of Organizational Identity* (Pratt, Schultz, et al., 2016). The editors of this handbook observe a “dizzying array” of conceptualisations which are no longer confined to organisational studies, but have been “appropriated” by fields such as institutional theory, population studies and literature aimed at management practitioners (p. 2). The following section draws on existing reviews and further studies.

2.1.2 Dominant perspectives and underlying assumptions

Several reviews group the dominant perspectives on organisational identity into categories, explaining them in terms of their underlying ontological and epistemological assumptions (Gioia and Hamilton, 2016, He and Brown, 2013, Gioia, Patvardhan, Hamilton and Corley, 2013).

Their categorisations differ not only in their labels and interpretations, but in how they carve up the field. My intention here is not to provide a ‘review of the reviews’, but rather a snapshot of the main perspectives in the literature as I understand them, highlighting conceptual distinctions and identifying debates and trends. The descriptions below thus represent a synthesis and extension of categories identified in the reviews. For each perspective, I summarise its treatment in the literature, adding examples of identity manifestations considered ‘knowable’ from that perspective.

Social constructionist perspective

Also referred to as the ‘social construction’ or ‘interpretive’ perspective, this rests on the view that meaning is constructed through social interaction. Thus, organisational identity exists to the extent that there is a shared understanding among members of “who we are as an organisation”. There are various permutations of this perspective, depending on whether organisations are seen as collections of actors (aggregate version) or as actor collectives (*Gestalt* version). In both cases, organisational identity is understood as ‘self-referential’ in that it resides in members’ own sense of what is unique about the organisation.

Culture is held to be significant at various levels, for example with regard to national culture (Jack and Lorbiecki 2007) and societal culture (Glynn and Watkins 2012). Researchers in the social constructionist tradition might look at shared beliefs and

values, symbols and their meanings, labels and how they are interpreted, and ‘sense-making’ processes of identity formation, such as ‘remembering and forgetting’.

Social actor perspective

From the social actor perspective, organisational identity is not about what an organization *is* but what it *has*, i.e. its distinguishing attributes. There is also less concern with identity *in* organisations (shared perceptions among members) than with the identity *of* organisations, as analogous to personal identity (Whetten and Mackey, 2002, p. 395). Holders of this perspective share the social constructionist view that identity is self-referential, but are more interested in how organisations assert themselves as actors in society, and in particular how they differentiate themselves from each other. Whetten (2006), elaborating on his original conceptualisation of organisational identity, defines it as “the central and enduring attributes of an organisation that distinguish it from other organisations”. These attributes are the “bona fide” or “legitimate” claims that an organisation makes about itself, and that serve as reference points when members speak or act on behalf of the organisation. For an organisation to be seen as distinguished rather than merely distinctive, the attributes must be positive, e.g. “a sacrosanct element”, “celebrated in organisational lore”, and “presented as truth claims” (Whetten, 2006, pp. 221-222).

Critics of the CED (central, enduring, distinctive/distinguishing) conceptualisation quibble with “enduring”, because identity can change despite a semblance of stability. Their preference is for near-synonyms such as “continuing” (Gioia, Corley and Schultz, 2000; Gioia, Patvardhan et al., 2013). Nevertheless, the basic CED tenets are broadly accepted by those who treat organisational identity from a social actor perspective. Research in this tradition focuses less on ‘sense-making’ in identity formation than on ‘sense-giving’, i.e. the organisation’s distinguishing attributes as asserted by its representatives.

Managerial perspective

In contrast to Gioia et al (2016), He and Brown’s review of the literature does not specify the social actor perspective on organisational identity (2013). Rather, the authors see this as the basis of what they refer to broadly as “functionalist perspectives”, which they observe to be the dominant camp in the literature and attribute to the largely practical orientation of management research. Yet in doing so, they fail to capture an important distinction: Much of the literature based on the social actor view is aimed at an academic readership and therefore quite abstract and theoretical. Publications aimed at practitioners, in contrast, tend to take a normative or consultative perspective, offering advice on what should or could be done, and

fashioning theory in terms of its practical applications. Given the differences between these implied or intended audiences, I view the social actor and managerial perspectives as separate categories.

The managerial perspective can be understood as a twist on the social actor perspective in its more explicit acknowledgement of the strategic value of projecting an organisational identity. The general message is that identity is something to be constructed, cultivated and communicated, typically for purposes of marketing, corporate branding and positioning, and to optimise organisational performance in general. Seen in this way, identity work is the prerogative of senior management, namely the individuals on whom the success of the organisation is thought to depend.

The research and consulting firm Gallup is a useful illustration of the managerial perspective on organisational identity. Organisational identity is defined not as a concept or construct, but as a “dynamic” consisting of three elements: purpose (“Why do we exist and why are we here?”), brand (“How are we known to the world?”), and culture (“How do we live and how do we do things around here?”) (Gallup, 2014, p. 1). The success of an organisation, it is argued, depends on how the organisation answers these questions, and how well the three elements are aligned with one another. Gallup lists the ‘drivers’ of organisational identity as leadership and communication, values and rituals, human capital, work teams and structures, and performance, each of which need to be managed to achieve the organisation’s “desired aspirational identity” (p. 2).

A further characteristic of the managerial perspective is the notion that management can influence values and rituals, defined by Gallup as “the shared beliefs and ways of social interaction among employees” so that they serve the “desired aspirational identity” (ibid). A related concept is that of organisational identification, defined by Ashforth and Mael (1989) as “the extent to which a member of an organization defines himself/herself with reference to his/her organizational membership (in He and Brown, p. 2006, p.12). Research interest focuses on the relationship between organisational identification (loyalty, sense of belonging) and performance (productivity, creativity, reduction in absenteeism, staff turnover), and how this plays out in ‘non-traditional’ or ‘virtual contexts’ such as teleworking. For example, He and Brown cite research by Bartel and colleagues (2012) showing that employees who work from home or on the road rather than in traditional centralised offices were less likely to identify positively with their organisation. Being more physically isolated, they felt less respected by it (p. 20).

Organisational identification refers to the affinity that employees might or might not feel towards ‘their’ organisation. Yet, as He and Brown (2013) remind us, employees

may have multiple personal and social identities not derived from the organisation they work for. Furthermore, their professional identities may not necessarily be organisation-specific (p. 20).

Finally, researchers approaching organisational identity (and identification) from a functional or managerial perspective tend to focus on empirically observable features of organisations (claims, stories, logos, physical attributes, employee rituals), and to measure 'sense-giving' processes in terms of their performance outcomes.

Critical perspective

Literature in this camp is characterised by a critical stance towards the managerial and social actor perspectives described above. Organisational identity is depicted as an instrument of control by those in power, for example when used as a pretext or smokescreen for pursuing managerial interests in the name of organisational performance. Humphreys and Brown also note a contradiction, whereby organisations are often portrayed as being "discursively monolithic" by those who at the same time privilege identity claims made by senior executives (Humphreys and Brown, 2002).

Rather than attempting to explain how organisational identity relates to performance, researchers taking a critical stance are more likely to call attention to ethical considerations and how the 'oppressed' might be emancipated. Common themes include identity regulation, compliance and resistance (Alvesson and Willmott, 2002; Van Maanen, 1991; Carr, 1998), and the relationship between language and power (Tietze, Cohen et al., 2003; Loewenstein, 2014). An interest in how organisational identity is controlled and contested is also characteristic of the postcolonial literature (Boussebaa and Brown, 2017; Boussebaa, Sinha and Gabriel, 2014). For Alvesson and Deetz (2000), the general aim of critical research is to "disrupt ongoing social reality for the sake of providing impulses to the liberation from or resistance to what dominates and leads to constraints in human decision making" (p. 1). Understood in this way, it blends easily into the postmodern perspective described below.

Postmodern perspective

The postmodern take on organisational identity can be seen as a variant of the critical perspective, but goes two steps further. First, it is less overtly political, being more about the emancipation of thought than of the oppressed. Second, given the postmodern readiness to question orthodoxies, the literature is predisposed to problematising the very notion of organisational identity, for example by depicting it as a "modern conceit" (Wrench, Punyanunt-Carter and Ward, 2012) in the sense of a fictional construct conditioned by wider contemporary discourses. The social actor

view of an organisation as a single bounded entity with a unique ‘self’ would be rejected by a postmodernist, who might instead see a maelstrom of multiple, fragmented, and fluid identities.

This raises the question of how organisations can be researched from a postmodern perspective. The answer lies in treating them as texts.

The roots of postmodernism lie in literary criticism, which helps to explain why organisations are treated as ‘texts’ that are ‘read’ for their ‘narratives’ (stories), and interpreted in terms of the wider ‘discourses’ or ‘grand narratives’ in which they are embedded. Discussions of organisational identity typically contain references to ‘myths’, ‘scripts’, ‘narratives’ and ‘metaphors’ that can be ‘deconstructed’. The notion of organisational identity might, for instance, be seen as an extended metaphor in the contemporary narrative of Western capitalism.

Postmodernists not only seek to challenge conventional ideas about organisational theory. Some question the very foundations of the organisational identity literature (notably Alvesson and Robertson 2016). As with other researchers who take a critical stance, postmodernists are interested in the power-language relationship, but differ in that their primary aim is not to expose structural inequalities, but to draw attention to how language is used to shape what we understand to be real. This is because “anyone who controls discourse can make something exist, or disappear” (Hatch and Cunliffe, 2013, p. 13). Taking this view to its extreme, reality itself is constituted through language.

For Suddaby and colleagues, language is fundamental to processes of identity work (2016, p. 298). Their particular interest lies in the strategic use of persuasive language (rhetoric) and how organisations use history (narratives) to promote identification with the organisation. By selectively recasting an organisation’s history (eliminating the negative, accentuating the positive), current understandings can be reshaped for strategic purposes. This message boils down to a recommendation to tell tales, ironically illustrating a crossover between postmodernist and managerial perspectives.

(Neo-)Institutional perspective

Central to the neo-institutional perspective is the notion of legitimacy. Here, organisations are seen as social actors that become institutionalised as a result of adopting “rationalised myths”, i.e., beliefs, values and practices shared among large numbers of organisations in the same field. Adherence to such myths, also referred to as “templates”, “archetypes” or “scripts”, is thus a mark of being a legitimate, bona fide member of the club.

Attention to field dynamics is another key feature of the neo-institutional perspective on organisational identity. It begins with the observation that organisations in the same field tend to become more like one another over time (institutional isomorphism). This tendency is attributed to the desire to gain or maintain legitimacy, which impels organisations to adopt the “myths” of their field, if only ceremoniously. If this conflicts with other pressures, such as the need for efficiency, they might resort to “decoupling”, a form of organisational window-dressing whereby they “maintain standardized, legitimating, formal structures while their activities vary in response to practical considerations” (Meyer and Rowan 1977, p. 357). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) developed these ideas by identifying three types of isomorphic pressure: coercive (external forces, e.g. law or government mandate), normative (professional standards) and mimetic (imitation as a response to uncertainty or the need for legitimacy) (p. 147).

Drawing on the theory of institutional isomorphism, organisational behaviour is increasingly examined through the lens of ‘institutional logics’, a term introduced by Friedland and Alford (1991) to denote belief systems that guide social behaviour through a distinct logic. Thornton et al (2012) elaborated these ideas into a framework for analysing organisational behaviour. This consists of a matrix of “institutional orders” (family, community, religion, state, market, profession, corporation) that can be cross-matched with categories of legitimacy, authority, identity, strategy and control.

As a neologism, the meaning of ‘institutional logics’ is difficult to pin down, although it is likely to emerge through usage in the literature. The word ‘logics’ itself is often used interchangeably with demands, pressures, constraints, imperatives, rationales, templates and myths (the Bologna myth, the Humboldt myth), and the word ‘institutional’ is often conflated with ‘organisational’.

In an attempt to clarify what institutions are, Koskinen (2008) describes how they can be seen at three levels (abstract, formal and concrete), whereby an abstract institution such as religion becomes a formal institution (the church) with physical trappings (local parishes, the church building, the rituals and practices). From this follows a circular argument whereby abstract social institutions survive by being constantly reproduced in more concrete institutions.

Despite the vagueness of the term, ‘institutional logics’ has merit in that it draws attention to the resilience of shared values and group identities that cut across organisational boundaries within a field. This is useful when studying a field such as higher education, where organisations have fluid and dynamic boundaries (Fumasoli

and Huisman, 2014) and multiple purposes (Enders, 2013). Thus a university can be seen as an institution, an organisation, or a loose amalgam thereof.

Drawing on Slaughter and Rhoades (2004), Olson uses internationalisation as a lens to examine shifting logics in German universities, coining the term ‘coordinated academic capitalism’ to characterise the state-sponsored nature of the shift towards market rationales (2012). Indeed, she suggests that the institutional logics perspective can be used to examine internationalisation itself (2014). A study by Tayar (2014) examines the competing logics of corporatisation and community benefit that underlie Australian universities’ motives for expanding abroad. While acknowledging that some institutional pressures may be difficult or even impossible to observe, the study confirms – perhaps unsurprisingly – that the financial imperative is paramount (p. 7).

It is not necessarily the case that internationalisation efforts are driven primarily by a desire to increase revenue. According to a study by Maiworm and Wächter and Maiworm (2014), the three main reasons given by institutions in non-Anglophone European countries for introducing English-taught programmes at Bachelor and Masters level were (i) to remove language obstacles to the enrolment of foreign students, (ii) to improve the international competence of domestic students, and (iii) to sharpen the international profile of the institution (p. 17). The offer increased tenfold between 2001 and 2014, and tuition fee income played only a minor role.

As indicated above, in higher education research the academic template, supported by the members of the profession, is typically contrasted with the “corporate managerial ideal type” fostered by the policy environment. The evidence, however, warrants a more nuanced view of universities as “penetrated hierarchies”, where academic and corporate templates can coexist, and also be shaped by institutional and national differences, “global scripts”, and reliance on vital resources such as funding and prestige (Bleiklie, Enders and Lepori, 2017, pp. 4-17, p. 308).

Where the profit motive is less evident, the desire of institutions to sharpen their international profile can be explained in terms of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1991) and the need for legitimacy, which itself springs from a combination of pressures, demands and constraints set by the field. In complex organisations, one can expect differing views as to what constitutes legitimacy. For example, a university with a vocational tradition might strive for legitimacy as a ‘proper’ university, while another with an academic orientation might seek business school credentials.

In dealing with the question of how organisations cope with the complexity arising from competing multiple logics, Kodeih and Greenwood (2014) highlight the role of identity aspirations. They argue that “what matters is not how an organization sees

itself – i.e., what it is – but how it wants to see itself – i.e. what it wishes to become” (p. 2). By way of illustration, they describe how four French business schools responded to demands that they internationalise their management education whilst retaining their traditional identities. The authors identified two conflicting logics: the international business school, and the French Grand Écoles de Commerce. Their study revealed how audiences can signal support for both, suggesting that logics are not intrinsically incompatible. Moreover, if there is an ‘identity gap’ between how an organisation sees itself and what it wishes to become, the organisation is more likely to exploit institutional complexity as an opportunity to enhance its status (p. 27).

The ambiguities inherent in ‘institutional’ and ‘logics’ may in part explain their appeal in organisational studies. The same can be said of other abstract notions associated with the topic of organisational identity: image, reputation, brand, culture, and so on. So, before returning to the topic of organisational identity at the field level, it is worth highlighting the conceptual distinctions and their underlying assumptions.

2.1.3 Conceptual distinctions

Ravasi (2016) observes that “organisational identity” is generally thought to refer to the insider view of organisations, whereas “organisational image” and “reputation” refer to the outsider view. Distinctions are also drawn between the various facets of image, e.g. “construed image” (how members think we see their organisation), “desired” or “intended image” (how the members want us to see it), “projected image” (what is presented), “reputation” (the regard we have for an organisation) and “transient impressions” (how we view the organisation as a result of specific events or actions). Whetten and Mackey (2002) argue that rather than attempting to tease out distinctions between notions of identity, reputation and image, it is more useful to group them under one label: “organisational self-management”.

The ‘identity-internal, image-external’ distinction becomes even fuzzier in discussions about corporate identity. Ravasi (2016), drawing on Rindova and Schultz’s characterisation of corporate identity in terms of its external focus, which is to stimulate customer loyalty (1998), defines it as “a relatively co-ordinated set of visible and tangible representations of an organization (logos, products, visual communication materials, building features, design of uniforms, etc.) (p. 66). Thus, corporate identity is the organisational equivalent of brand identity, corresponding to the ‘desired’, ‘intended’ and ‘projected’ facets of image noted above.

Brands can be seen as tools for securing positional advantage through the promises they imply. Branding can be applied not only to individuals, products and organisations, but also to regions and even nations. Building on a growing body of

literature in higher education branding, Lomer, Papatisba and Naidoo (2006) show how a national UK higher education brand was developed that expresses idealised views of the international student, an idealised vision of the higher education sector, and an idealised representation of the UK as a destination for study. While individual HEIs might benefit economically from the halo effect, the main purpose of a national brand is to generate income for the nation and sustain national competitive advantage. This study is discussed in more detail below in connection with the marketisation of higher education in Europe, but it is worth noting here that their description of a brand as “the shell of a conceptual constellation of values, assumptions and logics” (p. 16) illustrates well the social constructionist perspective with its emphasis on culture.

In the organisational identity literature, explicit references to culture are rare. This can be explained by the tendency to view culture as a variable of identity, important or otherwise. Whetten (2006), for example, considers culture to be relevant only when members of the organisation invoke it as a central and enduring attribute. Yet for Gallup (2014), culture is a key variable: one of three elements, together with ‘purpose’ and ‘brand’, in the dynamic of organisational identity. According to Gallup, these are manageable variables that need alignment to ensure organisational success:

“Culture is instrumental: It either facilitates and supports organizational success or undermines it. Culture serves as a road map, as a set of ground rules and guidelines that articulate for every employee in the organization “how we do things around here”. In a sense, then, culture is the organization’s operating manual. But unlike a typical operating manual, culture is not a written set of instructions or a narrative”. (2014, p. 1)

For Alvesson (2002), in contrast, culture is neither a variable nor an attribute that can be managed, and certainly nothing like a set of organisational guidelines. He makes the case for treating organisations as if they were cultures (p. 24), which would call for a more ethnographic approach to studying organisational identity.

In a broadside against the organisational identity literature, Alvesson and Robertson (2016) argue that it fails to acknowledge the debt towards the organisational culture literature from which it borrows. They regard the former as a regrettable “step back”, given the wealth of organisational culture studies that already “emphasise pluralism, fragmentation, and ambiguity, considering the fine-grained symbolism and the need to explore the implicit meaning of cultural manifestations” (p. 174). In their view, identity issues should be examined with reference to their cultural contexts.

Much of the identity literature struggles with the meaning of ‘identity’ itself. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to disentangle definitions and usages, but the

etymology is illuminating: The word ‘identity’ comes from the Latin *idem*, meaning ‘same’. This expresses the quality of being identical, but also being identifiable or distinctive. The tension springing from this ambiguity is mirrored in the neo-institutionalist debate about the role played by culture and agency in countering the (isomorphic) tendency of organisations to look more like one another over time.

2.1.4 Similarity and difference at the field level

As noted above, the neo-institutionalists observe the tendency of organisations to seek legitimacy by copying one another. Organisational culture theorists, however, are more interested in how organisations project their distinctive cultures in order to emphasise their uniqueness. These processes may seem antithetical, but not to Pedersen and Dobbin (2006). In their view, “formation of identity through uniqueness and construction of legitimacy through uniformity are two sides of the same coin” (p. 897). Their interest lies in how organisations reconcile the need to appear distinctive with the need to conform. They illustrate this with a study comparing how master of business administration (MBA) programmes have been introduced in European management schools (pp. 902-904), showing that each programme was a “distinctly local translation of the global model”. From their analysis, they identify four types of “transformative process”: *imitation*, *hybridisation*, *transmutation* and *immunisation*.

The process of *imitation* refers to wholesale copying, such as when a Spanish business school replicates the Harvard Business School’s MBA. *Hybridisation* involves combining local organisational elements with field-level elements, as illustrated by the case of a Danish business school holding on to its local grading scale and examination format while adopting the widespread practice of admission based on the GMAT. *Transmutation* occurs when current forms and practices are invested with new meaning, for example relabelling an existing programme as an MBA programme without changing the content. The fourth process, *immunisation*, is the flip side of imitation, i.e., the deliberate rejection of new models. However, an organisation may eventually ‘jump on the bandwagon’ as a late adopter.

A case study of five Flemish universities by Mampaey, Huisman et al. (2015) shows how HEIs faced with conflicting competitive and institutional pressures use branding to integrate aspects of distinctiveness with elements of similarity. As mentioned above, Kodeih and Greenwood use the context of four French business schools in their investigation of organisational responses to competing logics (2014). Although these studies are set within specific national contexts (Belgium, France), their conclusions about how organisations deal with conflicting pressures or logics can be generalised to other national contexts.

The role of national context as a counter to isomorphic tendencies in higher education is discussed by Musselin (2011), who observes that even though there are strong convergences in the steering of higher education systems and in beliefs about what a higher education system ought to be, national differences persist. With reference to historical and sociological neo-institutionalism, Musselin offers four explanations for the persistence of national differences despite isomorphic pressures (pp. 464-5).

The first is that certain national institutional settings allow, or even necessitate, a differentiated approach. For example, in Germany's federal system it is up to the individual *Länder* (states) to implement the Bachelor reforms. Secondly, although there are 'scripts' and 'common logics' weighing on organisational fields, concrete practices may differ as a result of decoupling (Meyer and Rowan 1977) or organisational hypocrisy (Brunsson, 1989). Thirdly, the very processes of diffusing, translating and interpreting ideas and solutions may vary. Musselin illustrates this with the example of the German *Lehrstuhl* model, which was inadvertently reinterpreted by American academics. So instead of developing US research universities around chairs or professorships, they introduced departments. Musselin's fourth explanation for the persistence of national differences relates to the interdependency of systems, whereby the national higher education system may be meshed into other types of system or even be seen as constituting a subsystem of modern capitalism. Musselin acknowledges that differences between regions or institutions may be greater than differences between countries, but the thrust of her argument is that national contexts cannot be ignored.

Pedersen and Dobbin believe that the differences between neo-institutionalists and organisational culture theorists could be bridged through greater attention to diffusion processes. This seems to be happening, as illustrated in the theories of translation and editing as a metaphor for change processes (Czarniawska and Sevón, 1996; Sahlin-Andersson, 1996; Czarniawska and Joerges, 1996), diffusion theories (Dobbin, Simmons and Garrett, 2007), and the institutional dynamics of standardisation (Brunsson and Jacobsson, 2000; Brunsson, Rasche and Seidl, 2012).

2.1.5 Debates and trends in the identity literature

The six perspectives outlined above (social constructionist, social actor, managerial, critical, postmodern and institutional) fall into two camps. Whereas the first three perspectives reify organisations as bounded entities, the others emphasise the permeability of boundaries and the influences of external factors or forces. Across these perspectives, the methods of inquiry are situated within research paradigms rooted in different assumptions about the nature of reality. Table 2.1 below presents

an overview of the main theoretical perspectives on organisational identity, grouped according to how the organisation is viewed (reification/abstraction), and in relation to the research paradigm/methods associated with them.

Table 2.1 – Overview of theoretical perspectives on organisational identity

View of organisations	Dominant perspective and understanding of OI	What is 'knowable' about OI	Research paradigm and methods
Reification of organisations as bounded entities	Social actor: OI thought to be constructed through social interaction and expressed as the distinguishing attributes of an organisation, as asserted by its representatives	'Legitimate' claims about OI made by representatives of the organisation	Largely positivist; tendency towards a quantitative approach to the use of interviews, questionnaires, documentary analysis (content and corpus) and observation
	Managerial: OI treated as an image of the organisation constructed and communicated by senior executives for strategic purposes (positional advantage, improving organisational performance)	Attitudes, beliefs, values; observable features of organisations (claims, stories, logos, team structures, employee rituals, performance outcomes)	
	Social constructionist: OI seen as constructed through social interaction, and exists to the extent that there is a shared understanding of 'who we are as an organisation'	Shared beliefs and values; symbols and labels, and their interpretation, sense-making processes, language use	Constructivist/interpretivist; Ethnographic approach to using interviews, questionnaires, observation, and (critical) discourse analysis, where the organisation is treated as a culture
Treatment of the organisation as a fuzzy concept	Critical: OI treated as an image of the organisation constructed and imposed by those in power to pursue their vested interests in the name of the organisation	Observable features of identity regulation and acts of compliance and resistance, language use	
	Postmodern: OI treated as a fictional construct, the text/script of which is conditioned by wider contemporary discourses	Use of metaphor and narrative in organisational texts and artefacts; language use	Interpretivist: Critical discourse analysis, semiotics, techniques from literary criticism
	(Neo-)institutional: OI seen as the outcome of identity conflicts arising from competing institutional logics and from isomorphic pressures stemming from the need for legitimacy	"Rationalised myths" (beliefs, values, practices shared by organisations in the field)	Variously positivist, constructivist/interpretivist: tendency towards qualitative methods, incl. historical research

Source: Own representation

In practice, there is overlap and cross-fertilisation between perspectives, whereby researchers working within one tradition draw on insights from others. For example, Gioia et al (2013) declare that while they favour a social constructionist view, they acknowledge that claims, (external) images, and institutional contexts have a role in shaping organisational identity.

Gioia and Hamilton (2016) observe that attempts to categorise perspectives tend to exaggerate differences and understate similarities (p. 16). The fundamental debate in the organisational identity literature, they argue, is ontological in that it concerns the essential nature of the phenomenon. They characterise the debate as follows:

“At its essential roots, is organizational identity substantive, such that we study it as some sort of thing? Or, is it more ethereal, and should we therefore instead treat it more as some sort of ongoing process, always dynamic, always changing, fluid like, and flowing.” (p. 32)

In their view, the next wave of theory and research is most likely to be influenced by the “burgeoning debate” about the content versus process nature of organisational identity (p. 23).

Thus, we can assume that the term will continue to elude a commonly accepted definition. Alvesson and Robertson (2016) go further by arguing that there can be no correct definition, nor should there be. In their critique of the identity literature, they challenge what they consider to be taken-for-granted assumptions with regard to issues of power and the reification of organisational identity, and to the nature of the relationships between organisational identity and member identification, and between organisational identity and organisational culture

They suggest that the very term ‘organisational identity’ is misleading because it implies that organisations are homogenous and unitary, when in fact they can be highly complex. In their view, the term also de-emphasises the existence of competing views of particular organisations, thus serving to mask underlying conflicts. Their critique leads them to advocate new approaches to the topic that include (i) a more process-oriented view of organisational identity, (ii) greater immersion in organisations when studying the topic, (iii) closer attention to the links between politics, power and culture, and (iv) the exploration of a wider range of organisation, i.e. not only “celebrity” or “tainted” organisations.

Although there is some interest in the differential interpretation of organisational labels (Gioia, Corley et al., 2000), the organisational identity literature has tended to skirt around the topic of language. A possible explanation can be found in Alvesson’s

observation that, even though this literature is rooted in sociocultural theory, it treats culture as a variable of identity rather than the other way around. Thus, since language and culture are so closely entwined, any studies that marginalise the role of culture are likely to do the same with language. So, in order to gain an appreciation of why language matters, the following section looks at how organisations have been studied from a linguistic perspective.

2.2 Why language matters

2.2.1 *The linguistic turn in studying organisations*

Pinker (2014) observes that researchers have a habit of justifying the significance of their work by referring to the increasing number of scientists who, in recent years, have turned their attention to the very same subject matter (pp. 41-42). An example is the introduction to a seminal paper on the linguistic turn in organisational research:

“One of the most profound contemporary trends within the social sciences is the increased interest in and focus on language. [...] There is no doubt that many organizational researchers are listening and pondering on the linguistic turn in the field of organizational studies.” (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000, pp. 136-137).

These authors can of course substantiate their claim with evidence from research.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to further justify the significance the linguistic turn, but it is valuable nevertheless to draw attention to studies that examine the relationship between language and organisational identity.

Where the organisational identity literature considers language at all, it is largely concerned with either the role of labels in sense-making, or the strategic use of narrative and rhetoric in promoting identification with the organisation. Therefore, it is useful to consider how language is treated elsewhere in organisation studies.

Alvesson and Kärreman (2000) identify three linguistic turns in the social sciences. The first is a focus on language itself, accompanied by a recognition that language is not a transparent medium for conveying meaning, but is ambiguous, context dependent, active, and reliant on metaphor. The second is a focus on language in use: how it works as a social practice. The third is a focus on language in the production of research texts: how research is reported, the situation and subjectivity of the researcher, the role of genre, rhetoric and style in conveying meaning, and the context of the interviewee or informant (pp. 141-142).

Explaining this development, they identify six areas of consensus among social researchers that relate to the role of language as a “shaping force” and that underscore its significance in organisational analysis.

Language is now viewed as:

- *an active, autonomous, and productive mode of expression;*
- *the central object of study in social science;*
- *a rhetorical device for the creation of a credible research text;*
- *the very stuff researchers work and struggle with;*
- *a carrier of power through its ability to order and constitute the social world;*
and
- *a vehicle for the potential critical clarification of social issues.*

(Alvesson and Kärreman 2000, p. 142)

To add a further point, language matters in organisational analysis because it is capable of evoking strong emotions. Since language serves as a vehicle of clarity, people can very get heated about points of usage. Also, language is a way of signalling status (Bourdieu, 1977; 1991) and membership of a social clique (Pinker, 2014, pp. 187-189; Garrett, 2010; Edwards, 2009). Thus, by looking at aspects of language, such controversies over titles and labels, we learn more about the organisations themselves.

Literature associated with the sociology of language typically takes a broad perspective, focusing upon “the entire gamut of topics related to the social organization of language behaviour [...], not only language use per se but also language attitudes and overt behaviours towards language and toward language users” (Fishman, 1972, p. 1). In their review of “Fishmanian linguistics”, Garcia and Schiffman (2006) list the following topics in the sociology of language:

- *Language and behaviour*
- *Multilingualism*
- *Language maintenance/language shift/reversing language shift*
- *Language spread*
- *Language attitudes and language and ethnicity/nationalism/identity/religion/power*
- *Language planning and language policy*
- *Bilingual education and minority language group education*

(Garcia and Schiffman, 2006, p. 6)

In the context of globalisation, any one of these topics is likely to have some bearing on how organisational identity is constructed and regulated.

Westwood and Linstead (2002) note that while language has “always been on the agenda” in management studies, it was not until the 1980s that organisational researchers took a serious interest in language beyond its communicative function in achieving managerial goals, an interest the authors characterise as a “progressive radicalisation of the project of analysing organisation through the analysis of language” (pp.1-19). Language plays a role in ‘shaping’ meaning” (Thatchenkery, 2001, p. 114), thus affecting how we theorise about organisations (Chia and King, 2001, p. 312; Sieben, 2009).

As mentioned above with regard to the postmodern perspective on organisational identity, an interest in discourse has led some analysts to view organisations as texts consisting of scripts, narratives and events that can be dissected and deconstructed (Thatchenkery, 2001; Kärreman, 2001; Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000). Indeed, even the writing on organisations can be classified into genres (Alvesson and Kärreman, 2000, p. 137).

Tietze, Cohen and Musson (2003) show how organisations can be understood with reference to semiology, discourse practices, and “meaning-making processes” such as the use of myth, metaphor, stories and narratives. With reference the concept of *linguaculture*, they demonstrate why language, culture and meaning cannot be understood in isolation, and why language is key to understanding core themes in organisation and management studies. The growing interest in the role of language and meaning in organisational research is further reflected in work on professional vocabularies and how they serve to shape organisations and institutional fields (Loewenstein, Ocasio and Jones, 2012; Loewenstein, 2014).

Also noteworthy are recent studies of language attitudes in professional contexts (Garrett, 2010, pp. 121-141; Śliwa and Johansson, 2014). Śliwa and Johansson examine the effects of evaluations of non-native English-speaking staff in UK business schools, showing how linguistic stereotyping can serve to deepen existing inequalities. The authors encourage similar studies in non-Anglophone linguistic contexts and further research into the relationship between language use, power and inequalities in organisations (2014, p.16). Their focus is largely on attitudes to accents and communication styles, and how these relate to inequalities and discrimination.

Generally, attitudes to vocabulary have received little attention in the literature, which is surprising given the potential in linguistically and culturally diverse workplaces for controversy over terminology relating to functions and titles.

Finally, the growing recognition that language matters is now reflected in a substantial body of literature on language policy and planning in organisations. The following section reviews this literature as it relates to my twin themes of organisational identity and translation.

2.2.2 Language policy and planning in organisations

“Policy is rather like the elephant – you recognise it when you see it but cannot easily define it.” (Cunningham, 1963, p. 229)

While attempts have been made in the literature to define ‘language planning’ and ‘language policy’, the terms are often used interchangeably (Baldauf, 2005, p.228) or bundled together as language policy and planning (or planning and policy). Generally, the word ‘policy’ seems to be more closely bound up with politics. Indeed, many European languages do not distinguish between policy and politics, using a single word (*politique*, *Politik*, *politica*) to refer to both (Phillipson 2003, p.18, Hill 2009, p.18). Yet, planning may also be highly political, as the emergence of language planning suggests.

Language planning originated with the founding of language academies, the Accademia della Crusca in Florence in 1583, followed by the Académie Française and the Real Academia Española. These institutions were charged with standardising and promoting the national language for the purpose of nation building (Jernudd and Nekvapil, 2012, pp. 17-36; Wright, 2012, p. 68). After the Second World War, linguists saw it as a remedy for language problems faced by newly independent states in Africa and Asia, assuming that planning would generate policy in the sense of “an officially mandated set of rules for language and form within a nation-state” (Spolsky, 2012, pp. 1-5). Thus, an official national language would need to be chosen, and the language and its writing system standardised. Kloss (1969) labelled these efforts as *Statusplanung* (status planning) and *Korpusplanung* (corpus planning) respectively.

In the 1980s, the term ‘language planning’ became tainted by associations with Soviet dictatorship and disillusionment with rational models of planning (Jernudd and Nekvapil, 2012, p.27). Interest revived in the 1990s, fuelled by what Hornberger (2006) describes as the “imperious spread of English and other global languages”, and by critical and postmodern theoretical developments in the social sciences (p.24). As explained above, status planning and corpus planning were originally conceived as labels to describe and prescribe language policy at the macro level of the state. Sociolinguists have since added further variations, notably ‘acquisition planning’ and ‘prestige planning’, which can be applied to organisations. Drawing on the literature

(See for example Phillipson, 2003, p. 14; Altehenger-Smith, 1990, p. 29), the concepts pertinent to my inquiry are summarised as follows:

- **Status planning** involves selecting one or more languages or language varieties as official or working languages, and passing legislation on language rights.
- **Corpus planning** relates to the form or structure of language, e.g. where the writing system is standardised and ‘correct’ usage is defined in authoritative reference works. (The German *Rechtschreibreform*, for instance, prescribes rules of spelling and orthography for certain groups in the public sector.) Unlike status planning, corpus planning requires the expertise of linguists.
- **Acquisition planning**, or **language-in-education planning**, prescribes how languages should be learned. Methodology for integrating the learning of content and language (CLIL) falls into this category.
- **Prestige planning** involves altering or upgrading the image of a language, or capitalising on the prestige of a language for promotional purposes.

Baldauf (2005) observes that language planning is still usually seen in terms of large-scale planning undertaken by governments to influence ways of speaking and writing in society. He argues for more research into “micro language planning”, where organisations plan how to use and develop their language resources “not directly as a result of some larger macro policy but as a response to their own needs, language problems or requirement for language management” (p. 231).

Thus, language planning can result *in* or *from* language policy, and language policy can be realised at several levels (supranational, national, organisational) and in various ways. Spolsky (2009) avoids references to ‘planning’ altogether, partly due to its negative connotations. Instead, he conceptualises language policy as consisting of three interrelated components: practice (how people use language), beliefs (what people think about language) and management (efforts to influence language use).

Studies of language policy in business (e.g. Hagen, 2011; Nekvapil and Nekula, 2006; Scherman and Strubell, 2013; Peltokorpi, 2010; Loos, 2007), and “corporate Englishisation” in business services (Boussebaa, Sinha et al., 2014) offer insights that can be applied to other sectors. With the growth in trade, cross-border mergers, offshoring and outsourcing, there is a growing need for translation and greater pressure on companies to develop policies to tackle issues arising in relation to language and intercultural communication. Where a multinational corporation mandates English as the common operating language yet tolerates the use of local languages in its subsidiaries, a large proportion of staff will need to be bilingual, with implications for recruitment and training (Peltokorpi, 2010, p. 98), and for society. An Anglo-American client with offshore call centres in India and customers in

Anglophone markets might reinforce colonial-style relationships of domination and subordination (Boussebaa, Sinha et al., 2014, p. 13). Further identity-related issues arising from the adoption of English include language barriers (Harzing and Feely, 2008), status inequalities (Neeley, 2013), and “organisational Englishisation” as a form of identity regulation (Boussebaa and Brown, 2017; Lønsmann, 2017).

Where language policy is discussed in the management literature, terms such as ‘language strategy’ and even ‘language management strategy’ are preferred. The European Commission’s *Language Guide for European Business* defines the latter as “a company’s package of measures and techniques used to prevent linguistic and cultural barriers from occurring in new and expanding foreign markets” (European Commission, 2011, p.9). According to the guide, this comes down to the management of people (recruitment, selection, training) and how the institution is represented (marketing, promotion, presenting, publicising). A language policy reversal by the German rail operator, Deutsche Bahn, offers an example of a language management strategy aimed ostensibly at preserving German identity. In response to criticism of its use of Anglicisms, it issued employees with a glossary of 2,200 German terms to be used instead (The Economist, 2013). So, whereas in the past it used English to present itself as a ‘global player’, it is now reverting to German to regain the confidence of its core customers (Habermann, 2013).

The Verein Deutsche Sprache (2017), an association dedicated to preserving the German language, publishes an *Anglizismenindex*, a list of Anglicisms with suggested German equivalents. These are classified into three types, as summarised below.

- *Ergänzend* (adding to the language): Anglicisms that fill a gap and have already been assimilated into the language (baby, clown, interview), so are relatively innocuous.
- *Differenzierend* (needing a German equivalent): Anglicisms that refer to a new concept, but where a German term should be coined to preserve the language (*E-Post* for email, *Prallkissen* for air-bag).
- *Verdrängend* (encroaching on the language): Anglicisms that are increasingly used where a German equivalent already exists, and that either impede understanding or inhibit the development of the German language (keeper for *Torwart*, shop for *Laden*).

(Junker, 2011)

Type 3 Anglicisms, which are seen as the greatest threat, account for about 80% of all the items listed in the index, and many relate to higher education (campus, lecturer, university, research, science, ...). The word ‘bachelor’ is also classified as Type 3,

but only when it denotes an unmarried man (*Jungeselle*). Use in the sense of an academic degree it is classified as Type 2, with *Bakkalaureus* as the suggested German-Latin equivalent.

It is important to note that the *Anglizismenindex* does not distinguish between rarely and frequently used terms, and so the different types cannot be seen as equally threatening in terms of undermining the status of German. Also, at the time of writing, there are some notable omissions in the index (postdoc, graduate school, executive education, third mission).

There is now a vast body of literature dealing with the emergence of (or need for) university language policies in response to the ‘Anglicisation’ or ‘Englishisation’ of higher education in non-Anglophone countries. This literature is still largely confined to topics of teaching and research (Ammon, 2001; Grin, 2010; Saarinen, 2017), for example with regard to English as a medium of instruction (EMI), content and language integrated learning (CLIL), pressures on academics to publish their research in English, and the consequences for the learning of other languages (Phillipson, 2003; Ammon, 2009; Hughes, 2008; Coleman, 2006; Altbach, 2004; Deardorff, De Wit, Heyl et al., 2012; Fortanet-Gómez, 2013; King, Naidoo and Marginson, 2011; Kirkpatrick, 2011; Hornberger and May, 2008; Pennycook, 2006; Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009; Phillipson, 2008; Schiedermair, 2008; Siiner, 2012; Spolsky, 2012; Tsiligiris, 2012; Winkel, 2010; Gnutzmann, 2008; Grin, 2010; Dearden, 2015; Jenkins, 2014; Gnutzmann, 2010). The message that emerges from this literature is that universities need robust language policies in response to language shift.

Weinrich defines language shift as “the change from the habitual use of one language to that of another” (1953, p. 68). As a phenomenon, it is usually discussed in the context of globalisation (Coupland, 2013), where the language with the higher social position is seen to prevail. This process has also been referred to as ‘language spread’, a term that suggests the displacement of other languages and therefore something to be deplored and opposed rather than welcomed or tolerated. Some contributors go further, for example by depicting the growing use of English as a manifestation of “linguistic neo-imperialism”. Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (2013) define this as “a variant of linguisticism operating through structures and ideologies and entailing unequal treatment of groups identified by language”. They regard English as a capitalist neo-imperial language” that serves the interest of the corporate world and of the governments it influences” (pp. 82-83). When it encroaches on another national language, this constitutes linguistic capital accumulation in favour of English.

The assertion that the shift to English represents a serious threat to a multilingual Europe implies a causal link that can be challenged on theoretical grounds. Yet it deserves consideration because it is frequently used to justify the need for language policy. Phillipson (2003), for example, warns that the forces of globalisation and “Americanisation” may lead to monolingualism in Europe. He is critical of *laissez faire* language policies that leave change to market forces, and portrays English as a ‘linguistic cuckoo’ allowed to throw eggs out of the nest of local languages (2003, p. 4). Universities, he argues, should promote multilingualism instead (2009).

Concepts such as ‘linguistic cuckoo’ and ‘linguistic imperialism’ need to be treated with caution for several reasons. The evidence suggests that as languages spread, they mix in a way that reflects local cultures (Pennycook, 2003). Furthermore, interactions in English are less likely to involve native speakers (Graddol, 2006, p. 87), and even the term ‘native speaker’ is questionable (Ricento 2006, p. 13). Also, as English is adopted, it adapts (Block, 2008, p. 39), although it is important to note that changes happen faster in spoken discourse than in written communication. In professional contexts such as academic publishing, native English norms still carry prestige (Ehrenreich, 2011).

Discussions about the need for language maintenance sidestep the role of individual choice, focusing instead on the wider ideological or social implications. However, De Swaan (2013) takes the view that when individuals decide to invest in acquiring a language, they are acting rationally and pragmatically in order to benefit from the communicative potential (Q-value) that it affords. The potential increases with the number of users, causing a “stampede” for one language to another. If a language were shown to need protection or ‘maintenance’, this would involve intervention. Preventing the abandonment of a language is possible “only when a critical mass of speakers is committed to preserving it” (p. 60). Measures would require either collective action from speakers of the language, or compulsory state intervention.

Yet there is evidence of attempts to impose language use being resisted in overt and covert ways. This is illustrated by the fate of the ‘Toubon law’ of 1994, which mandated the use of French in various public domains, including state education. Then in 2013, presumably due to pressures of internationalisation, Article 2 of the law was relaxed to allow universities to offer courses in English, providing they have agreements with partner institutions or receive financial support from the European Union, and can justify the use of English on pedagogical grounds. A study by Boussebaa and Brown of “organisational Englishisation” in a major French university presents it as a form of identity regulation involving enforcement, compliance and resistance (Boussebaa and Brown, 2017)

2.3 Summary and conclusions

As we have seen, organisational identity is a malleable concept, but therein lies its appeal. Since both 'organisation' and 'identity' have multiple meanings, it can be construed in different ways to suit a range of perspectives and purposes. There is some consensus in the literature that organisational identity is a social construct and not a fixed 'thing', and little to suggest that an organisation might have some kind of quiddity beyond its existence as a legal entity. There is less consensus as to who constructs the identity of an organisation, how and why they do it, and the extent to which identity is shaped by forces external to the organisation.

No matter how nebulous organisational identity is, it cannot be denied that organisations tend to be associated with certain attributes, positive or otherwise. Corporate branding seeks to influence this by imbuing the organisation with attributes that create favourable impressions and hold out promises to stakeholders. In this sense, organisational identity is a contrivance of brand managers, albeit with some 'co-construction' by others in the organisation, and the stakeholders themselves.

Conceptualisations also depend on what we mean by 'an organisation'. From a managerial perspective, it is a bounded entity that needs leaders and managers to achieve certain goals, and organisational identity is linked to organisational performance. Institutionalists, in contrast, take a bird's eye view of the organisation as an actor whose identity is conditioned by the characteristics of the field in which it operates. Critical theorists view the organisation as an arena of conflict subject to wider forces, with identity contested between members. Postmodernists read the organisation as a text or a culture comprising fragmented and unstable identities.

In general, the literature is moving away from treating organisational identity as an extended metaphor, and towards an interest in processes: how identity is constructed/regulated/disrupted, and how ideas and practices diffuse across organisational boundaries. This is accompanied by an interest in 'identity work' and the 'identity workers' who drive or enact these processes. The literature on organisational identification has traditionally been concerned with the role of leaders in shaping followers' loyalty to their employers (He and Brown 2013, p. 24), but this is being countered by a new stream of literature on professional identities and communities of practice that span organisational borders (e.g. Koskinen 2008).

Finally, greater attention is being paid to language in the study of organisational behaviour (the 'linguistic turn'), as well as to language policy and planning.

The impact of the linguistic turn on organisational research is summarised in Table 2.2 below, which lists the core themes, theoretical influences (“-isms” and “-ics”), linguistic focus, methods of data collection, and methods of analysis. The themes include those identified by Tietze, Cohen and Musson (2003), as well as other themes that seem to be gaining ground, based on my own survey of current journals on organisational research and reputable MBA programmes.

Table 2.2 – Overview of studying organisations through language

Core themes	Influences and approaches (“-isms and -ics”)	Linguistic focus	Sources of data	Methods of analysis
Power Identity Change Knowledge Strategy Culture Gender Leadership Rhetoric Theorising Networks	Linguistic philosophy Hermeneutics Pragmatism Social constructivism (or constructionism) Social interactionism Postmodernism Poststructuralism Literary criticism Applied linguistics	Discourses and discourse practices Communities of practice Symbolism Meaning-making and sense-making through narratives, myth and metaphor Accents Professional vocabularies, labels and nomenclatures Euphemism	Texts (organization charts, promotional materials, mission statements, signage) Recordings of interviews, meetings, speeches, etc. Internet discussion threads Cultural practices (e.g. dress codes, business card etiquette)	Ethno-methodology (observation and interviews) Semiotics Corpus analysis Organisational) discourse analysis Critical discourse analysis (CDA)

Source: Own representation

Many of these themes, theoretical influences and approaches can also be found in studies that examine institutional dynamics from a linguistic perspective, a topic that I return to later in Chapter 4.

However, little is known about the implications for organisational identity when a new and influential language is introduced. When members of an organisation find themselves switching between languages on a regular basis, the way the organisation is represented is likely to change. The literature on translation in organisational and institutional settings provides clues to understanding.

3 Translating Institutions

Introduction

This chapter deals with the sociological research on translation and translators as it relates to my topic of organisational identity in higher education. The title of the chapter is deliberately ambiguous because it straddles three related themes: the challenges of translating an institution, the notion of an institution “translating itself” (institutional self-translation), and the self-effacement of translators and other identity workers in this process. I refer here to ‘institution’ rather than ‘organisation’ because the chapter is concerned with translation in what can be described as ‘highly-institutionalised organisations’, such as universities.

Institutional translation is an emerging field of research, with relatively few empirical studies to draw on. The relationship between translation and institutions was first highlighted by Mossop (1988) and the topic gained prominence with a study by Koskinen (2008) of translation in the European Commission. Since then further studies have been conducted in other types of institution (Schäffner, Tcaciuc and Tesseur, 2014; Tietze, Tansley et al., 2017; Kang, 2014). This chapter draws largely on Koskinen’s seminal study, which explores the organisational role and professional identities of translators working in the Finnish translation unit at the European Commission, employing a research design that is transferable to the sociology of translation in other highly-institutionalised organisations.

3.1 Institutional translation

For both Mossop (1990) and Koskinen (2008), a “translating institution” can be any organisation that commissions translations (companies, governments, literary publishers, churches), where the translator acts as an agent of the institution. Their approach to institutional translation differs in that Mossop assumes translators have some choice in how they adapt their translation to the purposes of the institution, whereas Koskinen takes the view that translators’ choices are not always conscious. Furthermore, while she accepts that most translations occur in some sort of institutional setting, her interest lies in the practice of translation in organisations in highly institutionalised contexts. Koskinen defines institutional translation as follows:

"...those cases where an official body (government agency, multinational organization or a private company, etc.; also an individual person acting in an official status) uses translation as a means of 'speaking' to a particular audience. Thus, in institutional translation, the voice that is to be heard is that of the

translating institution. As a result, in a constructivist sense, the institution itself gets translated" (Koskinen 2008, p. 22)

Texts in this genre include “official documents of government agencies and local authorities of bilingual or multilingual countries, translations of the EU or UN documents, and translations of multinational companies' consumer and stakeholder information” (Koskinen 2008, p. 22). A novel lies outside the genre because the voice to be heard is not that of the publishing house (an institution), but of the translator speaking on behalf of the author. In the case of institutional translation, the body commissioning the translation is the author of both the source text and its translation. Thus, institutional translation is a form of auto translation or “self-translation” (pp. 22-24). The European Commission’s Directorate-General for Translation (DGT) refers to the translation services of international organisations such as the EU, the UN and the OECD as “public translation services” (European Commission, 2012), but in the same sense as Koskinen’s institutional translation.

In less institutionalised settings, translation is ultimately the translator’s responsibility. The translator is subject to fewer constraints, and usually has the last word. Koskinen compares this with her own experience as a translator in the EU Commission, which lies at the highly institutionalised end of the spectrum:

“The language is not individual but heavily controlled. Translation is not a personal act but a collective process, where I as an individual translator can only assume limited responsibility for what I say, to whom, and how. The translated text is not mine, nor does it have my name on it: it belongs to the institution, and it bears the name of the institution on it. It is not my trustworthiness but the trustworthiness of the translating institution that will be maintained, enhanced or harmed by my translation. In the Commission, the words are not mine; I am a spokesperson for the institution. The institution speaks through me.” (Koskinen 2008 p. 24)

While Koskinen refers to the EU Commission as an institution (official body), she acknowledges other senses in which the word “institution” is used in the literature. Citing Scott’s (2001) three pillars of institution (regulative, normative, cultural-cognitive), she locates her own study in the cognitive-cultural pillar, which stresses the role of culture and social interaction in the construction of meaning. Her focus is on how the process of construction takes place, and how it relates to the other two pillars. For example, regulative systems could refer to the rules or regulations that govern translators’ work, while normative systems might be reflected in the value statements and guidelines found in discourse (2008, pp. 18-19). The cultural-cognitive pillar would be the shared conceptions and understandings of the translators.

Koskinen observes that it is important in institutional translation, for symbolic or practical purposes, to maintain that different versions of a document are equally authentic or equivalent. This goes beyond serving the same communicative function (*skopos*). An illusion needs to be maintained that the translation is the original, or has been simultaneously drafted in different languages. Significantly, the word translation is avoided by the European Commission. Instead, there are just equivalent versions in different languages (Koskinen, 2000, p. 55). In order to create the illusion that the institution speaks to its audience in their language, “the translator’s role needs to be effaced” (Koskinen 2008, p. 25).

Adopting an ethnographic and mixed-method approach, Koskinen analyses texts and people in their institutional habitat, the Finnish translation unit at the European Commission, and at three different levels (macro, meso, micro):

- **Macro:** The institutional context (regulations governing practice, norms and values constraining or guiding translators’ actions)
- **Meso:** The study of translators working in specific institutional settings: shared concepts and understandings
- **Micro:** The study of translated documents and their source texts

The value of this framework for researching translation is that it can be applied to a variety of institutional settings, including higher education. Other studies in the sociology of translation employ similar frameworks, some of which borrow language from Bourdieu’s theory of social and cultural reproduction (1991; 2002), where the *field* constitutes the institutional context, the *doxa* its rules, the *habitus* shared concepts and understandings of translators, all of which are reflected in *practices* (Simeoni, 1998; Liu, 2012; Vorderobermeier, 2014).

3.2 Identity workers in institutional translation

Translators are not the only individuals involved in the self-translation of highly-institutionalised organisations, but they provide an obvious starting point. With regard to the institutional role of EU translators, Pym asks the following questions.

- *Do (EU) translators work in the name of their languages and cultures, or is there an EU intercultural? When the crunch comes, which way do professionals decide?*
- *Is the professional vision of translators inward toward the intercultural institutions, or outward towards receivers who are not in intercultural positions?*

- *To what extent do translation strategies influence the public perception of the EU?*
- *Do EU translators have the power to add to or take away from the texts they work on?*

(Pym, 2000, p. 16)

These questions can be developed and extended to other institutional settings: Is there a European higher education ‘interculture’? If so what is it? If translators have the power to influence public perception, or to add to or take away from the texts they work on, what are the implications for how the organisation is represented?

In discussing translators’ own identities, Koskinen prefers the concept of ‘identification’ because she finds it easier to define, and also wishes to avoid any suggestion that her research “could somehow reveal the true, and monolithic ‘identity’ of translators” (2008, p. 45). Her aim is to discover what kind of identifications are discernible among translators in her study. Translators, she notes, are often portrayed as being ‘caught in the middle’ between the source text and the target text, or as ‘negotiators’ or ‘mediators’ between the author and the reader, as if their personal feelings or loyalties were irrelevant. Yet we cannot assume impartiality between the communicating parties, nor should we ignore the emotional side of translating. For research purposes, Koskinen holds that it is more useful to focus on translators’ social identity as a particular occupation group, rather than attempting to unravel their individual identities (pp. 45-47).

Translators’ identifications are likely to be influenced by contractual status and working conditions. Translators with a tenured in-house post and a management-level salary may have good reason to feel loyalty towards the organisation that employs them, whereas freelance translators, whose only connection may be an occasional translation request, might find it difficult to identify with their client. In the case of public services, translators and interpreters are often themselves immigrants, and may identify more strongly with the newcomer in need of linguistic assistance than with the institution paying for the service (Koskinen 2008, p. 48).

Yet even in-house translators are not wholly subordinate to institutional constraints (Kang, 2014). They tend to identify with their profession rather than the institution (Mossop, 2014), and can never be completely detached (Wallmach, 2014). According to Lui (2012), “translators see themselves as the gate keepers and constructors of culture. They know they have the power to select, to transform and to define, which also provides them with the key to socially accepted values and truths” (p. 1169).

For Koskinen (2008), institutional translation revolves around the questions of “how translators see their institutional role and what they are expected to do” (p. 35). Yet if we also see it a process of self-translation, it follows not only that translators are identity workers, but that anyone involved directly or indirectly in identity work is a translator to some extent. This raises the question of what translation actually means.

Rather than attempting to define translation, Bellos (2011) argues that is more useful to define what translators do: Namely, they seek to say the same thing in different words. Bellos explains that for translators a thesaurus is as important as a bilingual dictionary because “in one language as well as between any two, all words are translations of others” (p. 102). Thus, translation is ultimately about how we make ourselves understood to others. It does not just happen between languages, but within them. Adapting one’s message to an audience is a form of translation. For the audience, understanding that message is a form of interpretation.

In the conventional sense of translation happening between languages, most people who live or work in a bilingual or multilingual context translate on a regular basis. Seen in this way, anyone contributing to the self-translation of institutionalised organisations is an identity worker. Furthermore, if we treat an organisation as a body of texts (corpus), the significant identity workers are those who produce texts for purposes of representation, such as the ‘About us’ section of a university website.

In a bilingual organisation, the translated version is by its nature a distortion of the original, not only because of inherent differences in language but also because of translation strategies. For Venuti (2008), this can be a matter of ideology. In particular, a distinction is to be made between a ‘domestication’ strategy whereby linguistic and cultural differences are “managed” to enhance intelligibility and interest, and a ‘foreignisation’ strategy whereby source-text words and phrases are retained in order to register linguistic and cultural differences (pp xii-xiii), even at the risk of reducing intelligibility. Venuti argues in favour of foreignisation as the more ethical choice.

The target text can also be highly edited, or indeed be written afresh for an international audience. The process of taking a source language and combining translation with other creative adaptations (new images, new content) to adapt it to a national or global audience is referred to in marketing circles as ‘transcreation’ (or ‘trans-creation’), whereby the translator deviates from the source text in order to create the right impressions in the receiver (Rike, 2013, p. 71). Brenn-Wright (2013) explains that this is usually the most appropriate response for English-language websites (p. 96). While transcreators may not be paid or recognised for this work, it is implicit in what they do. Whichever strategy is chosen, much depends on the

translation policy and what the translator/transcreator deems as the ‘right’ impression in the reader.

Complications may arise when translation policies are absent or differ within an organisation. In a study by Tesseur (2017) of institutional translation at the international human rights organisation Amnesty International, an analysis of translated press releases in three languages (English source texts, French and Dutch translations) revealed significant changes of content, including the misattribution of staff members’ quotations, arising from different understandings of what translation should achieve. Importantly, Tesseur shows how this highlights wider tensions about who controls the message and voice of an international non-governmental organisation (INGO).

Other identity workers involved in translation include web designers who deal with the technical and graphical aspects of retrofitting websites for different audiences, a process referred to in the literature as ‘localisation’. Whereas translation involves changing the original (source) language of a text into a different (target) language by substituting words from one language into another, localisation is the broader process of adapting a text, typically a webpage, from a linguistic, cultural or technical perspective to render it multilingual (Vázquez and O’Brien, 2017) or more generally adapt it to the target culture (Gutiérrez-Artacho and Olvera-Lobo, 2017). Here, translation is one element of localisation, which might also involve changing colours, styles, images, graphics, humour, symbols (cultural aspects), date and time formats, weights and measures, and geographic references (functional aspects). For example, the online retail site Amazon refers to a “shopping cart” for US customers, and a “basket” for the UK customers, using identical icons, and Marks and Spencers (UK retailer) restricts all customers to a bag.

With regard to designing English-language websites for European universities, Brenn-White (2013) understands localisation in the narrower sense of “creating or transforming content for a special national or regional audience”. She distinguishes this from “globalization”, which is “taking information and transforming it for a general international audience” (p. 110). Yet from a web designer’s perspective, the process of tailoring is synonymous with localisation, whether targeted at a specific country/region, or at a broad cross-section of international audiences.

Transcreation implies creativity beyond this, involving a “convergence of translation and text production” with translators as cultural mediators in the communication process (Rike, 2013, p.73, p. 82). The point to emphasise here is that website designers work alongside university translators as identity workers, both transforming the way the university represents itself.

The various translation approaches and strategies are summarised below in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 – Translation approaches and strategies

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foreignisation: retaining original elements, however ‘strange’ for the audience (Venuti, 2008) • Domestication: blending in with discourse the audience is familiar with (ibid) • Localisation (web-design): retrofitting websites for different audiences by changing technical and graphical details • Localisation (in translation): “creating or transforming content for a special national or regional audience” (Brenn-White, 2013) • Globalisation: “taking information and transforming it for a general international audience” (ibid) • Transcreation: “convergence of translation and text production” (Rike, 2013), adapting content and style to create the right impression in the audience • Skopos: aiming at equivalency of communicative function (not fidelity to the original) (Vermeer, 1978)
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3.3 Translating the university

As noted above, there is a lack of research into the role of higher education translation, whether in the conventional sense of translators explaining one higher education system in terms of another, or in its more abstract and metaphorical sense.

A notable exception is a study by Dow (2011) that illustrates how translation can be used as an extended metaphor for exploring cultural differences between university systems. Drawing on Santos (2005), he develops a framework, based on an elaborated understanding of translation, for tracing the cultural history of Sino-German university collaborations from their colonial origins to the present day. It includes six translation questions proposed by Santos as a means of countering hegemonic forces in post-colonial and cross-cultural encounters:

- *What to translate?*
- *From what and into what?*
- *Who translates?*
- *When should translation take place?*
- *Why translate at all?*
- *What is kept in and what is kept out?*

After Santos (2005) in Dow (2011, p. 21)

Here, translation is understood less in its literal sense of translating words or text from one language to another, and more in its metaphorical sense of moving something from one place to another, and this includes cultural exchange.

For Dow, ‘translating the university’ encompasses the following ideas and processes.

Idea of setting up somewhere else in space or time (e.g. transfer of historical Western); literal translation of key texts (canonical); intercultural problems (‘critical incidents’); founding of Languages & Translation Departments (as discipline, or service?); creation of international university; creating global graduates/academics (multilingual, interculturally competent); translation of procedures (management, exams, personnel); translation as a form of academic entrepreneurialism; need for translation in a ‘developmental’ sense’

(Dow, 2011, p. 193)

He finds that translation is “inextricably bound up with identity negotiations” (p. 25), but does not look specifically at institutional translation, the role of professional translators in these identity negotiations, and how the translators might act as catalysts or inhibitors in the process of cultural and linguistic accommodation between higher education systems.

Nevertheless, his conceptualisation of ‘translating the university’, informed by the six translations questions proposed by Santos, provides a useful framework for analysing the work of university translators from organisational, management and cultural perspectives.

This paves the way to the empirical investigation of my thesis, which is presented in the following chapters.

PART II – Empirical Investigation

4 Research Context

Introduction

This chapter describes the context for the empirical investigation and explains why it lends itself to an inquiry into the role of translation in organisational representation. The chapter has four parts, moving from the general to the specific.

The first part introduces the wider regional context, identifying five dominant trends in European higher education with examples of their linguistic manifestations. In doing so, it builds on earlier chapters by illustrating the language-identity relationship from both organisational and institutional perspectives. The second part narrows the focus to Germany, beginning with an overview of higher education system and issues in nomenclature, followed by an account of the rising demand for higher education translation and how this has led to attempts to standardise terminology. The third part elaborates on my decision to research the role of translation in the self-representation of highly institutionalised organisations, specifying aspects worthy of investigation and explaining how this contributes to developments in theory and practice.

The chapter closes with a summary and conclusions, followed by the research questions for the data collection.

4.1 Language and identity in European higher education

The consensus in the literature is that higher education systems have, in spite of their complexity and diversity, changed in similar ways over the past three decades (Enders, 2013; Huisman, 2014; Krücken, 2014; 2011). These changes are summarised below under five headings: Massification, Mission stretch, Marketisation, Managerialism, Mondialisation.

Massification and the adoption of inclusive language

According to Altbach (2016, pp. 6-7), the main driver of academic change since the mid-20th century not only in Europe but also globally is “massification”. Universities have become less elitist and more inclusive. Barriers to entry have been lowered, with more providers of tertiary education gaining university title, offering a greater range of subjects and widening access for students (Krücken, 2011, pp. 1-3; Altbach, 2016,

pp. 16-18). The implication is that anyone should be able to go to university, and any higher education institution should be able to call itself a university.

A linguistic manifestation of this trend is the growing use of ‘inclusive’ language to cater to an increasingly diverse student body. Glossaries and editorial style guides created by universities for their internal and external communications frequently contain guidelines on inclusive or non-discriminatory language (Hellinger, 2011). Indeed, the very production of such guides reflects two further trends mentioned below: greater professionalisation, and a growing emphasis on marketing, with universities setting up departments dedicated to communications and public relations.

The trends towards inclusivity and massification also raise questions about which types of tertiary education institution can legitimately call themselves a university, and what the equivalents might be in other European countries, and languages. Much of this discussion turns on beliefs about the purpose of higher education and views on the desired level of differentiation (vertical/horizontal) between the HEIs themselves.

Mission stretch and institutional relabelling

The question of labelling is complicated by the fact that we have come to expect so many different things from universities. Enders (2013) defines them as “multi-purpose or multi-product organisations that contribute to the production and application of knowledge, the training of the highly skilled labour force, the social development and educational upgrading of societies, the selection and formation of elites and the generation and transmission of ideology” (p. 53). As organisations, universities can thus be seen as unique in the multiplicity of demands placed upon them – the organisational equivalent of a Swiss Army knife.

The debate about what a university is, and what type of tertiary institution can legitimately call itself a university (or *Universität*, *università*, *universiteit*, *Universidad*) has prompted Alvesson to question what the word ‘university’ signifies (if anything), and to cast doubt on the very existence of a higher education sector:

“Does it mean anything particular, or is it just a label intended to trigger positive responses and then work as an umbrella for all kinds of activities? This raises the question as to what extent the entire sector itself, rather than merely certain arrangements within higher education institutions, can be viewed as an illusion (i.e. not accomplishing what it increasingly claims that it represents and achieves).” (Alvesson 2013, p. 95).

If the label really is an “umbrella for all kinds of activities”, this raises the question of whether an umbrella can be wide enough to cover so many activities, and how much further it can be stretched.

Universities are traditionally associated with the twin missions of teaching and research, with the associated concept of ‘service’ (Scott, 2006), but new missions are being introduced. As a result of the new public management (NPM) reforms introduced in the 1980s, universities are expected to meet a greater proportion of the costs of teaching and research through external funding, which in turn has led them to become more entrepreneurial, seeking alternative revenue sources and ‘saving’ public money by outsourcing service provision to private contractors. Furthermore, as the binary system breaks down (polytechnics becoming universities, universities becoming more vocational), institutions are spreading their resources over a range of missions, leading to “mission stretch, and even mission overload” (Scott, 2007, p. 14).

Competitive pressures have also led to greater emphasis on image building and identity management, whether for purposes of differentiation or positioning. Maier and Schimank (2002) use the term ‘*Profilbildung*’ in the sense of imitation or ‘copying the best’, where measures typically include redefining the corporate identity to gain a foothold in a more prestigious market (repositioning through emulation) or adopting new types of programmes to become more academic or more vocational (repositioning through vertical differentiation). Where lower status universities or non-university sector institutions attempt to adopt characteristics of higher status ones, this is often referred to as ‘academic drift’ (Meier and Schimank, 2002; Meek, 2000; Horta, 2008). Toma (2010) attributes academic drift to isomorphism, where it is exacerbated by the pursuit of prestige and a preference for legitimacy and security (p. 36). Vocational drift switches the orientation towards the labour market.

Profilbildung usually entails rebranding and relabelling. In the early 1990s, the formal rebranding in the UK of polytechnics as universities can be seen in relation to the shift from elitist to mass higher education under the influence of a Labour government (Tomlinson, 2013, pp. 178-179). Alvesson (2013) regards this example of relabelling as a “smoke screen” because it gives the former an image that is misleading (p. 101). He also notes how management departments in universities are relabelling themselves as business schools to make them sound more commercially and vocationally viable, and to emulate well-established business schools.

In addressing the issue of blurring boundaries, Horta et al suggest that the Bologna process has “exacerbated” academic drift by diminishing differences between degrees. He maintains that whatever the causes, “the decrease in diversity is looming large” (Horta, 2008, p. 150). This decrease in diversity is partly reflected in degree

labels. Some countries have kept the original labels, with only slight adjustments to the new three-tier degree cycle (e.g. Italy with its *Laurea di Primo Livello*, *Laurea Magistrale*, *Dottorata di Ricerca*). Other countries have replaced their original labels with those used in English-speaking countries (Bachelor, Masters, PhD, and so on).

Marketisation and market rhetoric

While the precise role of the market in higher education is a matter of debate (Brown and Scott, 2009), and while there will always be variation across university systems, the nature of the market rhetoric nevertheless suggests a greater emphasis on efficiency, productivity and service-orientation (Enders, 2013). This is underscored by a discourse analysis of higher education market rhetoric by Fairclough (1993) who, over a 26-year period, studied press advertisements for academic posts, programme materials for an academic conference, an academic's curriculum vitae, and entries in undergraduate prospectuses. Fairclough's study reveals how the discourse of higher education is being "colonized" by that of business and advertising, and how academic identities are being destabilised and reconstructed by a more entrepreneurial, promotional culture, while acknowledging that this is partly due to a breakdown of divisions between institutional types (p. 149).

More recently, Alvesson (2013) uses examples from Sweden, the UK and elsewhere to illustrate the use of hyperbole and aspirational language in the promotional texts of universities ("BE SOMETHING GREAT", "FAST TRACKS TO TOP JOBS"). He explains this with reference to the knowledge society and the growing emphasis on image-boosting in the higher education sector. In his view, both are symptomatic of more general trend towards 'grandiosity' in modern society (pp. 72-136).

Where universities once had the trappings and language of medieval churches (dean, rector, provost, etc.), they have since acquired the "typical organizational panoply" normally associated with modern businesses (Alvesson 2013 p. 20). Such trappings include the mission statement, which in the case of universities serve not only as a form of boasting, but also to demonstrate accountability (Morphew and Hartley, 2006).

The use of mission statements is normally seen as an instrument of branding. As noted above, the branding of higher education institutions is now the subject of a growing body of literature. Naidoo, Gosling and colleagues point out that while universities have always sought to enhance their reputation, this has been eclipsed by concerted efforts to construct, communicate and control the organisation's 'brand image' (p. 144). Yet they also find that brands are not only used to market the university's goods and services but also function, directly or indirectly, as a mechanism for cultural

change. This happens because the brands themselves are ‘co-produced’ by various stakeholders and in practice serve multiple purposes, for example as a means by which staff can further their own interests (Naidoo, Gosling et al., 2014).

Lomer, Papatisba and Naidoo (2016) use a Bourdieusian approach to examine the national branding of UK higher education, where the brand is conceptualised as a strategic expression of the competitive state, offering promises of different types of capital to different groups: prospective students gain cultural, education and economic capital, HEIs gain economic capital, and the nation gains political capital. For the British government, a successful UK higher education brand can benefit the economy by increasing income from tuition fees and also by enhancing ‘soft power’. Lomer et al use a thematic analysis of policy documents to show how a national brand for higher education is construed by weaving together three elements: cultural representations of the nation (symbols and icons, the national language, national brands, national heritage) woven together with idealised representations of prospective international students (‘ideal students’, ‘tomorrow’s world citizens’, ‘cultural engagement’) and marketable aspects of the higher education sector (reputation, quality, employability). They further note that while universities have always been engaged in various types of reputation building activities, the difference lies in the “conscious strategic intent to collectively brand UK higher education”, buttressed by a concentration of resources aimed at achieving “a centrally directed vision of higher education” (p. 2).

Branding in higher education thus has several linguistic ramifications. One is the use of rhetoric, which has been discussed above with reference to the growing use of marketing and advertising language in communication with potential buyers. Another is the need for translation into English if the brand message is to reach an international audience. This is certainly the case for university brands in continental Europe, raising the question of what is lost – or gained – in translation.

Managerialism and organisational relabelling

A further trend linked to NPM reforms is that governments are granting universities greater institutional autonomy, resulting in new governance models that treat universities as independent decision-making entities. It is argued that a stronger emphasis on university leadership undermines the self-steering powers of the academic profession. Deregulation and a loss of trust in the ability of academics to self-govern have been accompanied by growing emphasis on accountability and a proliferation of accreditation agencies, illustrating the emergence of a so-called ‘audit culture’ (Shore and Wright, 2000).

The growing emphasis on leadership and professionalism, sometimes referred to as ‘managerialism’, can be seen as a reflection of the organisational complexity of the contemporary university. Krücken (2014) defines the process of “managerialisation” as the “elaboration expansion and differentiation of a fine-grained formal organizational structure” (p. 1446). The proliferation of new middle-management positions in planning, student services, quality control and public relations would seem to support the idea of the university as an integrated and goal-oriented ‘organisational actor’, but research indicates that this is not the case. Krücken (2014) accepts that universities have become more ‘managerialised’, but in his view many of the hopes associated with the reforms have not been realised. The formalisation of decision-making procedures has led not to more transparency and clear-cut lines of authority, but to more bureaucracy and confusion about how to define organisational tasks, an outcome that Krücken sees in terms of ‘loose coupling’ (p. 1444).

Relabelling is not only a manifestation of mission stretch and efforts to gain positional advantage, but is also a function of organisational change. So, in order to reflect new structures, practices, identities and aspirations that come in the wake of reform, higher education institutions are revising their nomenclatures for academic titles, departments and functions. New labels can also provide the window-dressing needed to give the illusion of change, such as when labels are invented to satisfy accreditation committees wanting evidence of a research strategy. The label ‘Centre of Excellence’, for example, suggests a hub of activity that takes place in a physical place, even though this place might not physically exist (Alvesson 2013, pp. 101-3).

The labelling of departments and job titles in HEIs can inadvertently produce terminological anarchy. In Austrian universities, for example, the titles *Curriculumdirektor* (Medizinische Universität Wien), *Studiendekan* (Universität für Bodenkultur Wien) and *Universitätsstudienleiter* (Universität Innsbruck) all refer to the same function (Ralli, Stanizzi and Wissik, 2007), although the holders of these titles might disagree. By the same token, different functions can be given the same title.

When organisations undergo change, this can be an impetus, or pretext, for relabelling. In higher education, the relabelling of job titles tends to have an inflationary effect similar to other kinds of academic credential inflation: grade inflation, admission inflation, CV inflation, recommendation inflation (Collins, 2002). New job titles may of course be necessary in order to reflect the changing nature of work. However, when the job itself does not change, there may be other factors at play, such as pay and status, as when a secretary is relabelled as an administrator, or a PhD student as a research assistant (Else, 2016). Collins (2002) describes credential

inflation as a “self-feeding process” (p, 30), attributing this to economic strains arising from the expansion of universities, the separation of disciplines, specialisation within disciplines, the creation of internal ranks, and the widening gap between elite research professors and an “academic underclass of temporary lecturers” (p. 38).

Valuable work has been conducted on professional vocabularies and organisational change (See for example Loewenstein, 2014; Loewenstein, Ocasio et al., 2012), but little is known about how this relates to HEIs, particularly in multilingual contexts.

Mondialisation and the shift to English

I use the French word *mondialisation*, which roughly translates as ‘globalisation’, not only because it happens to begin with ‘M’. The word ‘globalisation’ carries negative connotations, whereas *mondialisation* is used synonymously with internationalisation or even in the positive sense of ‘the world is a village’. Furthermore, the choice of a French word reminds us that certain developments cannot be treated in isolation: the integration of higher education systems in Europe; the internationalisation agendas of universities in non-Anglophone countries; and the language/identity controversies stemming from the growing use of English, where ‘internationalisation’ is often conflated with ‘Anglicisation’.

Knight (2008) offers a working definition of internationalisation as “the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of higher education at the institutional and national levels” (2008, p. 21). At the supra-national level, the Bologna process and the creation of a European Higher Education Area (EHEA) have encouraged cross-border cooperation, harmonised degree-cycles and inadvertently accelerated the adoption of English in teaching, research and administration.

Saarinen (2017) observes that reforms aimed at improving the “international attractiveness” of higher education have created what seems to be a paradox, whereby universities as institutions can be defined as “both intensely international and inherently national”. While their knowledge base might be international, they are also strongly national institutions that once had – and maybe still have – a role in nation building. As such they are “as much results of their disciplinary internationalisation as their organisational nationalism” (p. 55).

As mentioned above, the Anglicisation literature has focused largely on teaching and research. The impact of English at operational and administrative levels has been neglected, for example with regard to the responses of staff in non-academic roles. Furthermore, despite the growing use of English for marketing purposes, surprisingly

little is known about the role of translation and translators, or indeed other identity workers required to switch between languages when representing their institution.

A further area worthy of investigation is how misunderstandings arise when an English term is translated directly into the local language without an appreciation of the original context and usage. Schriewer (2009) illustrates this with reference to the word “employability”, explaining why the translation into German as *Berufsfähigkeit* and *Berufsqualifizierung* has led to numerous misunderstandings of the Bologna model, and even opposition to it. Schriewer’s analysis deals with the emergence and diffusion of the Bologna model as a rationalised myth, an “imagined model with Anglo-Saxon contours” (p. 28) that draws selectively on features of American and British bachelor degrees while strengthening the idea of European citizenry. One of the goals of the Bologna Declaration is to promote the employability of European citizens. In English, the word generally denotes suitability for paid work, but the German expressions *Berufsfähigkeit* and *Berufsqualifizierung* have a more specific meaning that implies formal employment qualifications. The upshot is that bachelor degrees in Germany are now officially designated as being *berufsbefähigend*, meaning that they qualify their holders to take up a particular profession, whereas bachelor degrees in Britain and America do not. According to Schriewer, the adoption of such terms in official German higher education documents has stimulated opposition to Bologna structures and “entailed interpretations and misinterpretations, the social and institutional consequences of which have hardly been examined yet” (p. 47)¹.

¹ A further example of how loanwords are localised is the way in which the designations ‘bachelor’ and ‘master’ are used. In Germany, degrees and diplomas confer a title, with the consequence that graduates commonly refer to themselves not as “having a bachelor’s degree”, but as “being a bachelor”.

4.2 Institutional self-translation in German higher education

4.2.1 *Institutional and organisational change*

To appreciate the linguistic and organisational implications of the above-mentioned trends in their national contexts, one needs to understand the language and culture of the higher education system in question. For the empirical investigation, I narrow the context to Germany, a country whose language and academic culture I have come to know reasonably well. Having a personal connection is, of course, not the only reason for this choice of research context. It is justified by other factors salient to Germany.

There are currently 445 state or state-recognised institutions of higher education in Germany (Buschle and Hähnel, 2016, p. 7), of which about a third are *Universitäten* (research-oriented universities) and just over a half are *Fachhochschulen* (universities of applied science), including the *Duale Hochschule* (university of cooperative education). The rest consist of *Kunsthochschulen* (colleges of art, music, film, drama), *Theologische Hochschulen* (theology), *Pädagogische Hochschulen* (education) and *Verwaltungsfachhochschulen* (public administration). Most are financed by the state and so fall under its regulatory control, but there are also some private universities offering state-recognised degrees. Responsibility for higher education is devolved to the individual *Länder* (the 16 federal states). Each one has its own higher education laws and regulations, which means that official designations for functions, structures, roles, titles, and so on, can vary. This presents a challenge for translators, who need to know the context and intended audience in order to find appropriate equivalents.

Over the past two decades, the more vocationally-oriented *Fachhochschulen* have drifted academically by acquiring ‘different but equal’ status to the universities (Meier and Schimank, 2002). An example is the dropping of the ‘*Fach*’-prefix, whereby the *Fachhochschulen* have been renamed *Hochschule für angewandte Wissenschaften (HaW)*, an example of “semantic upgrading” which in some *Länder* has been incorporated into law, and in others remains optional (Müller and Langer, 2014, p. 5). This practice has been described more cynically as “*Etikettenschwindel*”, (Hochrinner, 2010), i.e. false labelling.

Meanwhile, the *Universitäten* have become more vocational, despite concerns about the loss of academic rigour (Berthold, 2009, p. 13). The convergence between the two systems has been facilitated by the Bologna process in prompting both types of institution to switch to the bachelor-master structure.

Countering this convergence, higher education policies across the *Länder* support a diversity of HEI types (HRK, 2014), and there is little political will to do away with the binary system (Beerkens-Soo and Vossensteyn, 2009). Furthermore, linguistic prescriptivism at a national level serves to reinforce the distinction between institutional types. While the term *Hochschule* covers all types of tertiary institutions in Germany, higher education law dictates that the title *Universität* can only be used by institutions with the right to confer doctorates. As a result, the umbrella term *Hochschule* is used mainly with reference to the vocationally-oriented HEIs. Yet there is no law in Germany that prevents any type of tertiary institution from designating itself as a university in its English-language communications, a linguistic loophole that presents *Fachhochschulen* and *Duale Hochschulen* with an opportunity to enhance their status internationally, if not nationally, by referring to themselves in their English guises as a ‘university’. This raises the question of how *Universitäten* respond to the non-doctorate-awarding *Hochschulen* that refer to themselves as universities in their English-language communications.

German higher education is considered to be relatively egalitarian. Traditionally, any student with the *Abitur* (the German advanced school-leaving qualification) has the right to a place at university. Most universities are publicly funded and tuition is, at the time of writing, generally free for domestic and foreign students. As a result, German HEIs had little need to market themselves in the past, and are thus relative latecomers when it comes to branding and profiling. In European universities, hiring individuals or offices responsible for institutional marketing (more than just a press office) is a relatively recent phenomenon (Brenn-White, 2013, p. 94). Erhardt and Kotzebue (2016) trace these changes to the new public management (NPM) reforms, embodied in amendments to the national *Hochschulrahmengesetz* (General Act on Higher Education) in 1998, which led to greater autonomy, a strengthening of internal hierarchies, and incentives for competition between higher education institutions. One of these incentives is the *Exzellenzinitiative* (Excellence Initiative), introduced by German federal and state governments in 2005. Here, additional funding is given to selected universities on the basis of their performance, usually for top level research. The two-fold aim is to introduce an element of vertical hierarchy, and to make research in Germany more visible and internationally competitive.

A further development associated with the NPM reforms is that of mission stretch. In particular, German HEIs are encouraged to institutionalise links with industry for the sake of ‘knowledge transfer’, something that used to be the researcher’s prerogative but is now a German HEI’s ‘third mission’ (Roessler, Duong and Hachmeister, 2015).

The vocabulary of German higher education is changing as a result of the growing attention to marketing, the NPM reforms and the Bologna process. Before, there was no need for accreditation, module descriptions, quality manuals or ECTS-points, but now much of the discourse revolves around *Akkreditierung*, *Modulbeschreibungen* and *Qualitätshandbücher* and *Leistungspunkten*. Furthermore, numerous German HEIs have been rebranding themselves over the past few decades to sharpen their profile and position themselves more clearly across the sector (Müller and Langer, 2014, p. 1; Hochrinner, 2010). Also, new labels are being introduced for titles and departments to reflect new hierarchies, structures, and identities. In Germany's federal system, there is some freedom of interpretation across the *Länder* with regard to the meaning of organisational labels, for example with regard to the relative powers of deans and professors (Hüther, 2008), but there are limits. For example, a bachelor's degree from Bavaria does not differ substantially from a bachelor's degree awarded in another state (Winter, 2011, p. 275).

Another change that warrants attention is the re-introduction of academic dress in Germany. It was originally the faculty and not the students who wore the cap and gown (*Hut und Talar*), but in the late 1960s this custom was rejected as 'dusty old tradition' by adherents of the student reform movement, whose slogan was "*Unter den Talaren – Muff von 1000 Jahren*" ("Under the gowns, the fog of 1000 years"). Now it is enjoying a renaissance that has been attributed to a desire to copy "Anglo-American traditions", in particular those associated with "elite American universities such as Harvard" (Üing, 2005). Ironically, it was in the medieval universities of Europe that such traditions began, so practices often referred to pejoratively as 'Anglicisation' (or Englishisation) may be rooted in those very countries thought to be on the receiving end.

4.2.2 *Internationalisation and marketing*

In addition to the reforms mentioned above, German HEIs have stepped up their international marketing in order to attract students from abroad, although not for their money. Tuition fees were introduced in the wake of reforms, but have since been abolished after public protest. There are plans in some *Länder* to reintroduce fees for non-EU students, but dependence on fees as a revenue stream is unlikely. Higher education in Germany continues to be seen as a public good (Duncan, 2015).

Foreign students may be valued for various reasons: for their talent (Luijten-Lub et al 2005; BMBF 2013, pp. 8-9; Duncan 2015), as a *quid pro quo* for allowing home students to study at partner universities (Alexander, 2008, p. 80), as a means of enhancing the institution's international profile, or for creating a more international

atmosphere on campus for home students (Hatakenaka 2004, p. 24; Olson 2013 pp. 117-118; Maiwurm and Wächter 2014). Furthermore, German universities are paying more attention to global rankings (Hazelkorn, 2009), where internationality is included as an indicator. The CHE University Ranking for Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Austria include it as one of four competency areas (CHE, 2013). In the Times Higher Education World University Rankings, “international outlook: staff, students and research” constitutes 7.5% of the overall score (Times Higher Education, 2015).

The federal government uses financial incentives and performance targets to encourage recruitment. Since 2001 there has been concerted action to attract foreign students under the banner “International Marketing for Germany as a Land of Education and Research” (BMBF 2008, p. 40). Also, universities can apply for annual funding of up to €250,000 to enhance their international profile through partnerships and joint degree programmes with universities abroad (DAAD, 2018).

While acknowledging the resilience of ‘public good’ rationales in German higher education (the Humboldt legacy), Olson (2012) finds evidence of competition and market-centred incentives in the internationalisation process. She highlights the coordinating role of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the German Rector’s Conference (HRK), who function as a new “cadre of professionals [...] molded through policy and practices to become strategic actors pursuing internationalisation as a means to justify many competitive and market-facing activities” (2012, p. 45). State-funded support for marketing to an international audience is provided by GATE-Germany (DAAD and HRK, 2014), a joint initiative of the DAAD and the HRK, and a recent study commissioned by GATE-Germany confirms a growing professionalism in the international marketing efforts of German universities (Engin-Stock and Mayerböck, 2017)

Another joint initiative in *Profilbildung* is the Audit “Internationalisation of Universities”, which aims to help German universities develop their international profile. The audit is voluntary and based on self-evaluation and ‘informed peer review’, and there are no criteria for measuring internationality. An external audit report of the audit process (Evalag, 2013) argues that the methodology is sound given that the intention is only to advise on strategy (p. 5). The German Rectors’ Conference, on the other hand, claims that the audit is “an assessment of the university’s current state of internationality” (HRK, 2015). The willingness of universities to submit to this control mechanism is an illustration of Meyer and Rowan’s notion of decoupling (1977). The audit is not an audit in the conventional

sense (no criteria, no evaluation), but it enables participating universities to create the illusion of internationality and compliance without needing to change anything.

International marketing seems to be paying off. Between 1993 and 2017, the number of *Bildungsausländer* (foreign² students who obtained their higher education entrance qualification outside Germany) more than doubled to 359,000, exceeding the target set by the Joint Science Conference (GWK) and DAAD of 350,000 by 2020 (DAAD and DZHW, 2014; 2018; Statistisches Bundesamt, 2014; BMBF, 2013).

It is not only the student body that is increasingly international. Between 2007 and 2016, the number of international academics and researchers employed at German universities increased by 84%. Notably, a recent survey of the DAAD and DZHW (2018) highlights the hitherto largely unrecognised contribution of non-academic university staff to the internationalisation of German universities (pp. 143-163).

4.2.3 Internationalisation, language change and identity

The call in the literature for more robust university language policies stems in part from concerns throughout Europe about the threat to local identities and cultures posed by the unreflecting adoption of English in teaching and research. In Germany, this touches on national identity, since German was once an influential international language of science and scholarship (Ammon, 1998).

There are currently over 1400 English-medium degree programmes at Bachelor's, Master's and PhD level catering to students with little or no knowledge of German (DAAD, 2017). The federal government originally supported such programmes not only to attract foreign students but also to stem an exodus of domestic students, as implied in its motto "*Brain Gain statt [instead of] Brain Drain*" (Earls, 2014, p. 155). The initial enthusiasm may be waning, however. Coleman (2006) lists a host of problems associated with the adoption of English-taught programmes, including fears of a threat to cultural identity and the status of the native language in higher education and research. Similar concerns are expressed by Earling and Hilgendorf (2006), Alexander (2008) and Earls (2014), and are mirrored in reports of the German Rectors' Conference (HRK) on higher education language policy (2011; 2019).

² The adjective 'foreign' is preferred to 'international' in some English language publications of the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) and the Federal Ministry of Education (BMBF).

The HRK report describes the adverse effects of the shift to English in teaching and research in Germany, arguing that the growing use of English undermines the global status of German and European policies to promote multilingualism. It also criticises providers of English-medium programmes who emphasise – for marketing purposes – that knowledge of German is unnecessary for study in the country. The report calls on HEIs to develop a language policy with the objectives of preserving German as the language of science, encouraging multilingualism by making language learning mandatory, and embedding internationality in administrative and communicative processes (pp. 13-14). The report does not specify which languages should be mandatory, nor does it suggest how the objectives might be achieved.

Even though English is now firmly established as the lingua franca of German higher education, discourse at the administrative level continues to be largely in German (Schoenkaes, 2014). Nevertheless, there is evidence of a growing number of HEIs whose internationalisation strategy includes the aspiration to become ‘bilingual’. The Universität Bonn, for example, aims to “make it possible for all non-German-speaking members and guests of the university to navigate their way effortlessly through the university, not only through the buildings but also through websites and administrative documents”. In order to achieve this, it has introduced a German-English glossary with binding translations of central university terms, and an “English Language Style Guide” to ensure consistency in how the university represents itself to its external audiences. It has also established a central translation service and an online editorial office for English texts, which has the additional function of supporting marketing efforts and promoting the international visibility of the university (Brodersen, Faulhaber and Sicks, 2019, pp. 45-46).

Taken together, the trends outlined above (NPM reforms, Bologna process, shift to English, increased competition, need to demonstrate internationality, growing emphasis on branding and profiling) suggest that German HEIs are likely to adopt or emulate marketing practices associated with universities in Anglophone countries, and to translate as much of themselves into English as their resources allow.

The growing demand for English-language texts in marketing and administration is especially strong in the more internationally-orientated universities, regardless of their size, although larger universities have more resources to devote to translation (Schmitt, 2017b, p. 4). As in other European countries, most German HEIs now have an English language version of their website. This might be a fully translated hybrid version that allows users to switch between languages at any point, or a tailored version for a particular audience, typically international students. Also, German HEIs are now turning to professional translators not only for websites and marketing

materials, but also for grant applications, forms, examination regulations, decrees, signage, and routine correspondence. Some are also creating in-house positions for the whole gamut of activities involved in institutional self-translation. Others rely on agents, external providers of translation services, or staff in roles not primarily related to translation, for example the International Office (Schmitt, 2017b, pp. 4-5).

The publication of glossaries, guides and bilingual dictionaries of higher education terminology testifies both to the internationalisation of German universities, and to the need for greater clarity with regard to university jargon in general. Siepmann (2015), author of a German-English dictionary published with the German Association of University Professors and Lecturers (DHV), groups lexical items specific to higher education under the following headings:

1. Technical terms from the areas of university administration (*Bauplanung, Prüfungsstatistik, Zulassungsbeschränkung*)
2. Public law (*Dienstvorgesetzter, Lehramt*)
3. Curriculum planning (*Beifach, Modul, Präsenzveranstaltung*)
4. Education and teaching (*Fortbildung, Vermittlung, Vorlesungsreihe*)
5. Appointment procedures (*Berufungszusage, Ernennung*)
6. Librarianship (*Ausleihe, Vormerkung*)
7. Finance (*Drittmittelantrag, Stipendium*)
8. Science and scholarship (*Lehrmeinung, Meisterschüler, Romanistik*)

(Siepmann, 2015, p. 18)

With regard to the challenges of translating for higher education, Siepmann considers how context affects usage, and how human judgement and intuition play a role in translating subject-specific phraseology. Generally, a translator has to come up with a solution that will make sense to the targeted audience (2015, p. 19), but this can be complicated by legal terminology where there may be no equivalent in English, and institutional features that are not comparable.

Another challenge for both translators and website designers is *localisation*. As explained above, this refers to the cultural and functional (or technical) aspects that need to be adjusted to specific audiences. In an analysis of English-language websites of German higher education institutions commissioned by the Brenn-White Group for GATE-Germany, selected webpages were reviewed and participating institutions were asked to complete a questionnaire about the goals and targets audiences for each page. The outcome is a guide aimed at helping German universities market themselves more effectively to international audiences (Madison and Brenn-White, 2014). The guide identifies ten common problems, which are summarised below.

1. Lack of clearly defined goals and target audiences
2. Inconsistencies with language (BE/AE) and translated terms
3. Missing ‘calls for action’ that encourage visitors to take the next step
4. Poor or awkward English
5. Images that don’t give a good sense of the university
6. Outdated web design
7. Large blocks of text
8. Missing or confusing key information
9. Usability issues
10. Generic or lack of promotional text and content

Numbers 2 and 4 refer specifically to the use of English, while the others imply more generally that German universities need to up their game with regard to text-based international marketing. Some of the advice, such as breaking up large blocks of text using section headers and bullet points, would also be useful for the German pages. Other advice clearly has international student recruitment in mind. For example, the use of images that “feature smiling faces, lively scenes on campus or in town on sunny days, and students of different nationalities” (Madison and Brenn-White, 2014, p. 6). Figure 4.1 below depicts how an English webpage directly translated from the German could be optimised for international audiences.

Figure 4.1 – Optimising German-style university webpages for international audiences

Instead of this...

International Cooperation

The very foundation of the University was directly linked to international academia. Some of the University's first leading teachers were German professors such as Johann Bartels, Franz Erdman and Christian Fren. The famous German professor Karl Fuchs, who was both the founder of the Kazan Medical School and the first European researcher of Tatar history and culture, became the University's rector in the 1820s and was awarded the title of Honorable Citizen of Kazan. Kazan University has since had one other international rector, professor Ivan Braun from Austria.

Today the University continues to be one of the leading Russia's HEIs in the area of international cooperation, being rated among 600 best world universities according to QS Ranking.

KFU has partner agreements with approximately 100 partner universities in more than 35 countries of Europe, America, and Asia. Thanks to long-term fruitful cooperation with the Justus-Liebig University of Gießen (Germany), the Superior Institute of Materials and Advance Mechanics, ISMANS (France), research center RIKEN (Japan) and other partners Kazan University participates in various joint programs, to include "double" diploma initiatives and cotutelle agreements.

Each year more than 700 KFU students, postgraduates and faculty members visit foreign universities and research centers, take part in international conferences. KFU hosts more than 900 international students participating in major educational, exchange and short-term programs. Every academic year the University hosts 1500 foreign specialists who participate in various scientific events, develop and introduce new courses, deliver lectures and master classes, etc. Eighteen visiting professors employed by the University on a regular basis teach Chinese, Korean, Farsi, German, Spanish, English, etc.

Each year the University runs about 30 international team projects. Its postgraduates, researchers and teachers win on average 60-70 individual grants from well-known organizations and foundations, such as DAAD, DFG, Volkswagen Foundation, European Commission, CRDF, Carnegie Foundation, etc. KFU enjoys support from the national funding bodies of Belgium, France, Germany, Sweden, Japan, China, and other countries.

Since 2006 the Republic of Tatarstan runs a unique budget-financed scheme in support of training, re-training and upgrade of qualification of staff at Russian and foreign educational and research institutions. This is the first initiative of this sort in Russia. It is aimed at the education and support of intellectual elite of Tatarstan. Each year about 50 KFU students and faculty members receive governmental support for study abroad. No other republican HEIs can boast of such high performance.

Try this...

Research and study in an international organization



Internationalization is one of the University of Groningen's strategic policy spearheads and an important instrument in improving quality, innovation and diversity. The University of Groningen has a strong international reputation and a good, swiftly climbing position in the [international rankings list](#).

Degree programmes

In 2011, the University of Groningen was assessed by the International Student Barometer as 'the best university in the Netherlands'. The University of Groningen offers a wide, international curriculum, with over 30 English-taught Master's degree programmes and PhD programmes, as well as 20 English-taught degree programmes at Bachelor's level.

Many degree programmes work intensively with international partners. Examples include the 8 prestigious Erasmus Mundus programmes and a swiftly increasing number of Double degree programmes.

Internationalization policy

The University of Groningen already has 4300 international students with over 120 different nationalities – we hope to reach 5000 international students in 2015. 25% of the staff and 60% of all PhD students are from abroad. The University of Groningen is proud that the European Union has accredited it with both the Diploma Supplement and the ECTS label.

Student and staff exchanges form an important part of the internationalization policy. By 2015, the University of Groningen wants half of all its students to have gained experience abroad during their studies, and it has made incentive funds available to this end.

Strategic partners

There are many types of [international cooperation](#) in both teaching and research. Strategic partners and networks at the University of Groningen include the 100 network with Unilever, Otisman and Obard, the Foodnet network, TNO, etc.

(Madison and Brenn-White, 2014, p. 9)

Depending on the target audience, the translator may need to choose between British English (BE) or American English (AE), and examples specific to higher education terminology are given in APPENDIX P. Some words can mean different things, for example ‘academics’ can refer to either university staff (BE) or university studies (AE). Moreover, as Brenn-White points out, “an American student is as unlikely to understand the term “invigilator” as is a British student who does not know what a “proctor” does” (2013, p. 112), raising the question of whether both terms should be replaced by something more neutral. The BE/AE preference governs punctuation, orthography and grammar as well as lexis, which contributes to the overall impact.

A further consideration is the overall readability of the target text. One would normally expect a translation to have the same level of readability as the original. This means being no more difficult for English-speaking readers than the original is for its German-speaking readers. A complicating factor is that the German source text will presumably have been written with a German-speaking audience in mind, whereas the translation will be need to be understood by readers with varied levels of English proficiency, who may be from cultures with different communication styles, and whose knowledge of the German higher education system is likely to be coloured by the system in their own country (Brenn-White, 2013, p. 111).

If the source text is written in an elevated, sophisticated or convoluted style, the translator is faced with the choice of either being faithful to the style of the source text, or using ‘plainer’ language to ensure comprehensibility for non-native speaker readers. By choosing the first option, the translator produces a text likely to challenge the audience in terms of readability. With the second option, the translator might be accused of ‘dumbing down’ the message, and thus misrepresenting the university. Brenn-White’s advice for a “globalized” website is to simplify vocabulary, clarify particular terms, keep sentences short, and supplement them with visuals wherever possible (2013, p. 112). To the extent that such advice is followed, it helps to explain why German universities come across differently in English.

As mentioned above, the practice of transcreation (reinterpreting or augmenting a text) goes further. An extreme example would be where the source text is not translated at all but completely rewritten. Here, faithfulness to the source is less important than communicating the message, which may be a slightly different one.

A further challenge for higher education translators is whether or not to translate the names of courses and modules taught in German. If a German-taught course is chosen by an international student who assumes it is taught in English and lacks the required German language proficiency, that student will have been misled.

Finally, universities face the challenge of managing quality in translation, given the constraints of cost and time. Hampel (2017), who represents the Federation of German Interpreters and Translators (BDÜ), argues that internal translation units offer better value than agencies and freelancers. She offers the following examples of services that could be provided internally by an in-house language unit.

- *Translation*
- *Interpreting*
- *Editing*
- *Proofreading and quality assurance of externally provided language services*
- *Creating glossaries to ensure terminological consistency*
- *Project management in dealing with external providers of translation services*
- *Localisation, e.g. of software products*
- *Contributing to the creating of a corporate language in English in accordance with the corporate identity*
- *Ensuring quality in the foreign language version of the organisation's web presence*
- *Development and publication of style guides and tips for editing German and foreign language texts, and for formatting*
- *Advising on intercultural issues*
- *Language courses, coaching, language tests, given advice on language*

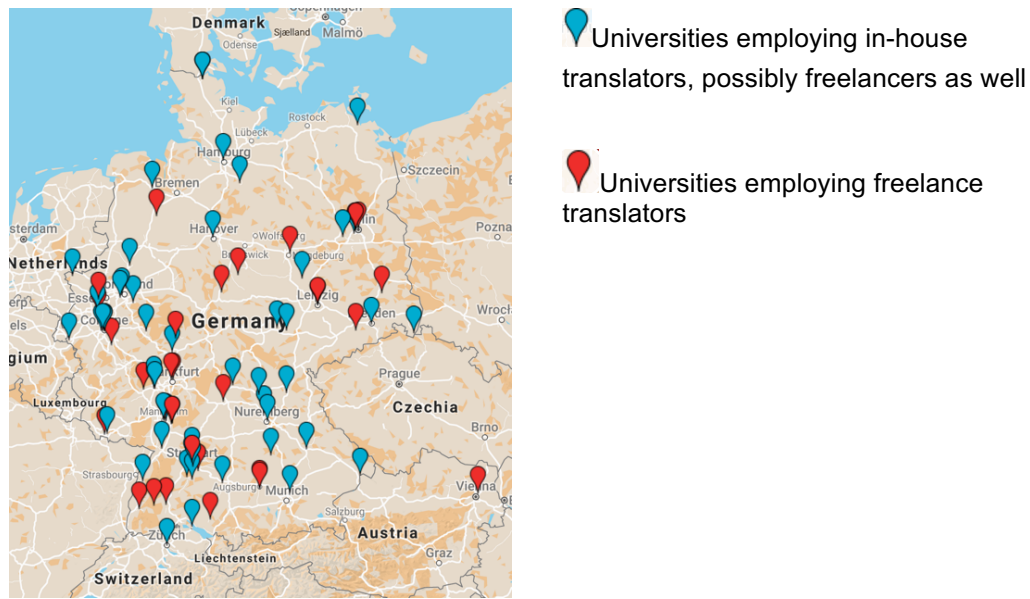
(Hampel, 2017) – my translation

An in-house provider, Hampel maintains, not only offers a wider range of more easily accessible services, but is more likely to identify with the organisation. Additional benefits include greater availability, confidentiality, data protection, and “making a significant contribution to the international image of the organization”.

4.2.4 Coordinating higher education translation

HEIs in other non-Anglophone countries face similar challenges to those described above, but Germany lends itself particularly well to my investigation because it is the only country that can boast a professional community of higher education translators (*Netzwerk der Hochschulübersetzer/innen*). Founded in 2014 as an informal community of professional translators, by March 2019 it represented 83 universities across Germany, one in Switzerland (Zürich) and one in Austria (Vienna). The distribution is shown in Figure 4.2 below.

Figure 4.2 – Network of higher education translators in Germany



(Universität Mannheim, 2019)

The translators network online and at conferences to share their expertise on matters such as translation management, professional standards, consistency in terminology, and dealing with ‘untranslatables’, i.e. terms specific to a particular higher education system or culture for which there is no direct equivalent in the other language. More recently, this network has also spawned regional groupings for *Länder*-specific issues, such as the state-funded *Landeskoordinationsstelle für Übersetzungsangelegenheiten im Hochschulwesen Baden-Württemberg*. This body coordinates processes, structures and terminology for universities in the state of Baden-Württemberg, which includes sharing databanks of member universities’ corporate identity language. The Bavarian counterpart, the *Bayerische Dienststelle für englischsprachige Verwaltungsdokumente an Hochschulen*, provides English-language administrative documents in higher education to Bavarian universities (BaySeV, 2017).

Given the enthusiasm with which university translators in Germany share their expertise and support the idea of regional and national coordination, it is tempting to conclude that their practices contribute to uniformity in the field of German higher education. The reality is shown to be more complex.

4.3 The need for research

The review of the literature dealing with organisational identity, the linguistic turn, language policy, and institutional translation suggests that contributions to theory and practice can be achieved through research in three interrelated areas: the role of translators as identity workers, the distorting effects of translation on the self-

representation of highly institutionalised and internationally oriented organisations, and the instrumental or ‘strategic’ use of a second language for profiling and positioning, and for legitimisation purposes in general.

In the past, the role of translation received little attention in the Anglicisation debate, possibly because there was less demand for translation. Also, the literature stems from predominantly English-speaking countries, where translation is unlikely to be an issue. Studies of language policy in bilingual universities tend to focus on teaching and research, largely ignoring the implications for university staff (Jernudd, 2002). By investigating the strategic role of translation and its distorting effects, my research contributes to both the Anglicisation debate and the organisational identity literature.

The lack of attention to translation exposes universities in non-Anglophone countries to reputational risks that could undermine efforts in branding and international marketing. Several studies in this area (Madison and Brenn-White, 2014; Brenn-White, 2013) pave the way, but more evidence-based research is needed.

The emerging networks of university translators in Germany is a phenomenon worthy of investigation in its own right, providing us with an opportunity to explore tensions between professional and organisational loyalties, and how these contribute to convergence or divergence in the way universities represent themselves. Of particular interest, as yet largely unexplored, is the role of translators as identity workers, and the ways in which they deal with ‘untranslatables’ in university jargon stemming from differences between systems, traditions and academic cultures.

Thus, contribution to the organisational identity literature is to examine the role of translators as identity workers in highly institutionalised and internationally oriented organisations, where a second language is used for purposes of profiling, positioning and legitimisation. Universities are of interest as “complex and collaborative environments with multiple stakeholders” (Brenn-White, 2013, p. 100), and German universities that aspire to bilingualism offer an ideal research context.

4.4 Summary and research questions

The linguistic turn in organisational studies reflects a growing emphasis on language in the study of organisational behaviour and institutional dynamics. This was illustrated above with reference to trends in European higher education, where the five ‘Ms’ (massification, mission stretch, marketisation, managerialism, and mondialisation) are reflected in more inclusive language, institutional and organisational relabelling, the adoption of market rhetoric, and a marked shift to the use of English in teaching, research, administration and promotional activities.

Also noted are the twin processes of academic and vocational drift, whereby lower-status universities adopt the characteristics of higher-status ones, and traditional universities are becoming more vocational. At the same time, competitive pressures are impelling them to project their distinctive qualities and cultures. This raises the question of whether universities are becoming more like each other (isomorphism), or whether the reverse is true (fragmentation).

In Anglophone Europe, we can therefore assume that many HEIs are undergoing a process of ‘self-translation’ whereby they undergo a kind of linguistic metamorphosis that involves the services not only of professional translators, but also other identity workers. The aim of my investigation is to gain an appreciation of the distorting effects this has on how they represent themselves. Koskinen (2008) established the groundwork for this in her study of the EU, where translation serves to promote the idea of European citizenship. By confining my study to one country (Germany), I focus on bilingual representations of organisational identity in a national context.

The distortions arising in translation include the potential for a homogenising effect, which is especially likely when translators working for different organisations in the same field refer to the same glossaries, standards and terminology banks. This could lead to a situation whereby organisations appear more similar to one another in their L2 representations than in the L1. Thus, it is worth investigating the isomorphic potential of institutional translation on representations of organisational identity, and the influence of translation choices (what, why, how) on profiling and positioning.

My empirical investigation is underpinned by a conceptual framework that integrates theories relating to actor dynamics, language shift and the strategic use of language, and is further informed by Koskinen’s three-level approach to understanding institutional translation (2008), and studies in higher education branding (Lomer, Papatsiba et al., 2016; Naidoo, Gosling et al., 2014; Mampaey, Huisman et al., 2015).

Three lines of inquiry emerge that can be applied to any highly-institutionalised organisation, but are particularly relevant to HEIs on account of their symbolic function in promoting national prestige.

The first relates to identity workers. Here I seek to identify the actors directly or indirectly involved in institutional translation, and to show how their work relates to how the organisation is represented. The second line of inquiry deals with the distorting effects of organisational self-representation in translation: the extent to which an organisation might look different in translation, why distortions happen, and when they matter. The third focuses on the strategic use of language. Specifically,

how do organisations use language for purposes of profiling and positioning, both in their domestic (regional/national) and in their international contexts?

I apply these lines of inquiry to the German higher education context for several reasons: First, many HEIs in Germany, notably the Universität Mannheim, regard organisational self-translation as an instrument of their internationalisation agenda. This is also happening in other non-Anglophone European countries, where concerns may be raised about the threat to national languages and identities posed by the shift to English. What distinguishes Germany is its current economic prowess and the fact that German was once a major international language of science and scholarship. Thus, there is potential for subversion or resistance to the pressure to use English.

Furthermore, Germany is unique in having a professional and active network of higher education translators across the country, with some state-funded coordination of translation at regional levels (Universität Mannheim, 2018; BaySeV, 2017). As suggested above, translation may have a homogenising effect, whereby different organisations in the same sector appear more alike when translated into the same language. Moreover, translation choices can affect profiling and positioning in ways that ‘slip under the radar’. This leads to the core question of my investigation:

How does translation into English distort the self-representation of German HEIs, and what are the implications for organisational profiling and positioning?

Pursuing the lines of inquiry outlined above, I examine translation from three perspectives: actor dynamics (foregrounding the translators), the nature and extent of language shift, and the strategic use of translation as an instrument in institutional positioning. Applying this to the field of German higher education, the following questions emerge for the empirical investigation.

RQ1: Who are the actors involved in higher education translation, and how does their work relate to organisational self-representation?

RQ2: In what ways can translation into English have a distorting effect on how German universities represent themselves, and what are the mitigating factors?

RQ3: How are German universities using English for purposes of organisational positioning/profiling, both in their domestic and international contexts?

Thus, translation does ‘double duty’ in my thesis, serving as both the subject of inquiry and a conceptual starting point to examine how aspects of identity are construed, contested and communicated in highly institutionalised organisations with more than one official language.

5 Methodology

Introduction

My investigation explores how translation distorts the self-representation of German HEIs, and how they position themselves against each other in Germany and internationally. While the principle unit of analysis is the organisation, I also consider how practices and standards are diffused across the national higher education sector. Having begun with a tentative hypothesis (highly-institutionalised organisations looking more alike in English), I collected data about the processes and outcomes of translation employing a largely qualitative, mixed methods approach.

This chapter describes the design of my study, where I account for my research stance and approach, methods of inquiry, and present the criteria for my choice of research sites. It is divided into five sections, moving from the general to the particular.

The first deals with the methodological principals underpinning the research design. This includes a brief review of the current approaches to researching the topic of organisational identity. In the second section, I justify my own stance and explain why a mixed methods approach lends itself well to my investigation. The third describes the methods themselves, the sources and techniques for the data collection, and how they relate to the research questions. The fourth presents a summary of the data collection methods. The chapter concludes with a reflection of my role as a researcher, and ethical considerations relating to my research design.

5.1 Methodological principles

Before outlining the methodology, it is worth revisiting the theoretical assumptions underlying the main approaches to researching the topic of organisational identity. As illustrated in the literature review, opinions differ with regard to what organisational identity is, what can be known about it, and how to go about studying it.

These are metaphysical questions of ontology, epistemology and methodology. Taken together, they constitute the defining elements of what Guba and Lincoln (1994) refer to as a “paradigm”, a basic set of beliefs about the nature of “the world” and how it can be studied. The authors identify four competing research paradigms (positivist, post-positivist, critical and constructivist), grouped according to their underlying ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions (1994, pp. 107-109).

Not all researchers consider it necessary to articulate their worldview or to situate themselves within a particular paradigm, but from their methodology one can usually

infer what their stance is. So, for example, the more structured quantitative methods used for hypothesis testing and theory verification are indicative of a positivist approach, whereas the less structured field techniques of qualitative research aiming at theory generation are characteristic of a social constructivist or poststructuralist research design (Punch 2014 p. 21; Johnson et al 2007, p. 125).

This relationship between a researcher's theoretical stance and methodology is broadly reflected in the organisational identity literature. For example, the social constructivist view proceeds from the assumption that meaning is constructed through social interaction, and that organisational identity exists to the extent that there are shared beliefs and values relating to 'who we are as an organisation'. The research is thus directed towards identifying and interpreting beliefs and values. Typically, this favours qualitative research methods such as interviews and observation, although when studying language use, quantitative techniques of discourse analysis may also be applied. The managerial/functional perspective is also more likely to be associated with a positivist stance, focusing on features of organisations that are observable, quantifiable and measurable.

An overview of the theoretical perspectives on organisational identity and the research paradigms and methods with which they are associated is presented above in Chapter 2 (Table 2.1). As mentioned, in practice there is cross-fertilisation between theoretical perspectives (Gioia and Hamilton 2016). Also, research designs frequently employ a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, as we have seen in the mixed-method approach taken by Koskinen (2008).

In comparing ways of proceeding with research, Punch (2014) distinguishes between a paradigm-driven approach, where one begins with a paradigm and then develops the research questions and methods from it, and a pragmatic approach, where one begins with questions typically arising in response to a practical or professional issue, and then chooses the appropriate methods (p. 17).

Whatever the approach, it should be acknowledged that the way in which one frames a research question is also influenced by what one considers knowable and worth knowing. In addition to the three defining elements of a paradigm (ontology, epistemology, methodology) and the four paradigms (positivist, post-positivist, critical, constructionist) propounded by Guba and Lincoln (ibid), Heron and Reason (1997) suggest a fourth paradigm, 'axiology', to introduce the notion of value, and a fifth paradigm, 'participatory inquiry' to account for what can be known through experience, and to affirm the value of practical knowledge.

Motive also plays a role in framing the inquiry, and ultimately the methodology. Research driven by curiosity is likely to lead to discovery, whereas research driven by frustration with a perceived injustice might lead to advocacy, thus prompting change. Furthermore, the research design will be shaped by the research context, for example the availability of funding or time constraints that preclude a longitudinal study.

Finally, the complexities of language prevent us from framing our research questions in a neutral way (Alvesson and Deetz 2000, p. 52). It is through language that we share our perceptions of reality, and attempt to shape those of others, and it is important to be aware of how it pervades all stages of the research process.

Thus, a researcher's methodology is influenced by a whole range of factors that include philosophical stance, motives, values, experience, context, and language. This in turn is likely to affect the findings and how they are reported. So it is incumbent on researchers to reflect on their ontological, epistemological and axiological stance, and to articulate the research paradigm and practical constraints that set the parameters for the inquiry. For my topic, the following questions are relevant:

- What is organisational identity? What is the essential nature of the phenomenon?
- What can be known about it?
- What is my relationship as a researcher to what is knowable?
- What is worth knowing/asking about the topic?
- What type of data is worth collecting?
- What is the value of my own experience/expertise?
- What motivates me to research this topic?
- What is the overall benefit of the research?

On the basis of the literature and my own reflections, my answer to the first question (What is organisational identity?) is that it is a construct. While I use this term in the title of my paper, and indeed devote a chapter to it in my literature review, I do not regard it as existing in any real or substantive sense. Identity is not an inherent property of individuals or groups, nor is it a phenomenon in the sense of requiring a cause or explanation. It can only be construed or attributed. Thus, organisational identity in the sense of a set of attributes is in itself not empirically researchable. What one can do, however, is investigate how aspects of identity are projected by organisations, and the underlying processes of identity formation, regulation and subversion. It is also possible to take a broader, phenomenographical approach (Tight 2012, p. 8) by exploring different understandings of what a university represents. It is

for this reason that I favour the term ‘self-representation’ in the articulation of my research questions.

With reference to the overview of “alternative inquiry paradigms” developed by Guba and Lincoln (1997, p. 195), and for the purposes of my thesis, I cautiously situate myself on the spectrum between interpretative/postmodern critical theory on the one hand, and constructivist/participative inquiry on the other. At the same time, I accept that methods and insights associated with other paradigms have something to offer. For example, hypothesis falsification (Popper, 1934), associated with post-positivism, is in my view a more fruitful and credible way to achieve scientific progress than hypothesis verification.

Taking my cue from the postmodern perspective on organisational identity, a starting point of my research design is to treat organisations as texts that draw on various institutional narratives. Indeed, the actual texts of organisations (organisation charts, mission statements, website descriptions) provide tangible data for empirical analysis. In bilingual organisations, the translators contribute as co-authors who liaise with other identity workers in creating, interpreting and revising the organisational narrative. As an analyst of such narratives, and the institutional myths/scripts that inform them, my role hovered between that of an involved participant and a detached observer, and involved collecting and interpreting data from different types of text and different groups of people. This called for a largely qualitative and to some extent ethnographic mixed methods approach to the data collection.

5.2 Mixed methods approach

In order to understand the role of translation in organisational self-representation, my investigation calls for research in three areas:

1. Rationales for translation (why translate?)
2. Processes of translation (who and how?), and
3. Outcomes of translation (what is lost/gained?)

In doing so, I employ a mixed methods approach that draws on qualitative and quantitative data from a variety of sources. This type of approach has had a mixed reception in the academic community, so it is useful at this point to explain what it refers to, and why I have chosen it.

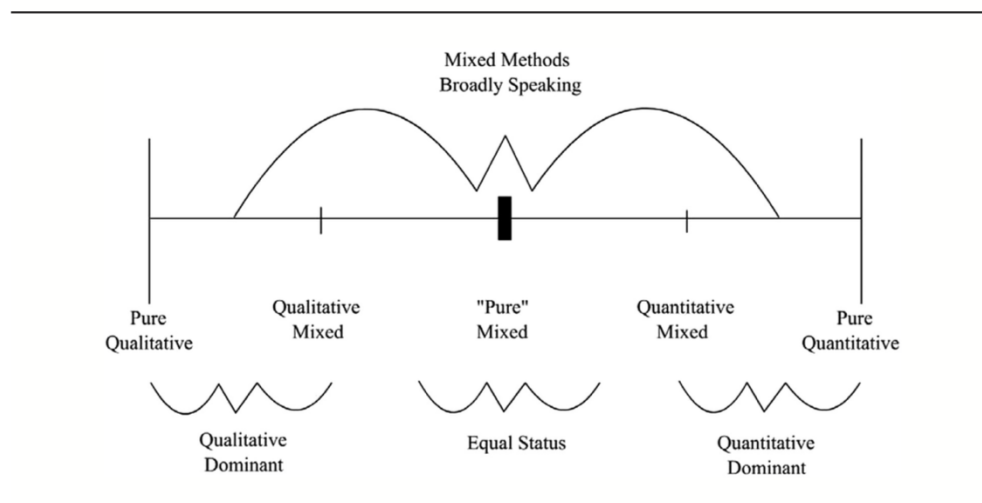
Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner (2007) regard mixed methods research as the third of three major research approaches (or research paradigms), the other two being qualitative research and quantitative research (p. 112). After asking current leaders in

mixed methods research how they define the term and then synthesising the responses, they arrive at the following general definition:

Mixed methods research is the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (e.g. use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration. (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie et al., 2007, p. 123)

Arranged on a spectrum it falls in the middle between qualitative and quantitative research, but with equal status as a paradigm. This is shown below in Figure 5.1, where the term ‘paradigm’ is used as a synonym for approach, and so not to be confused with paradigm in the sense used by Guba and Lincoln above.

Figure 5.1 – Graphic of the three major research paradigms, including subtypes of mixed methods research



(Johnson, Onwuegbuzie et al., 2007, p. 124)

Researchers can therefore decide, for any particular inquiry, where their methods fall on the spectrum, whether “*pure*” *mixed* in the middle, or tending towards qualitative dominant (QUAL+quan) or quantitative dominant (QUANT+qual). My own falls closest to the former, defined as follows:

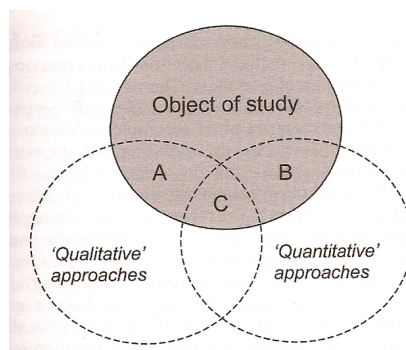
Qualitative dominant mixed methods research is the type of mixed research in which one relies on a qualitative, constructivist-poststructuralist-critical view of the research process, while concurrently recognizing that the addition of quantitative data and approaches are likely to benefit most research projects. (ibid p. 124)

The notion of corroboration, often associated with mixed methods research, has also had a mixed reception. Zahariadis (2007), for example, argues in favour of so-called multiple frameworks, the idea being that if something is examined using different perspectives or lenses, one is more likely to approach the truth (pp. 86-7). Widdowson takes the opposite view, however, on the grounds that “it is simply not possible to see things from two different perspectives at the same time”. For disciplinary consistency and coherence, he argues, limits must be set: “If you want to see things steadily, you cannot see them whole” (Widdowson, 2005, p. 19).

Yet Widdowson’s stance imposes unnecessary limits. To use a medical analogy, coupling an x-ray with an ultrasound scan achieves a better diagnostic and, ultimately, better treatment. This technique of corroborating a diagnosis is sometimes referred to as ‘triangulation’, a term that has been interpreted variously to mean collecting data from three vantage points, collecting three different kinds of data in order to determine something about a fourth phenomenon, or involving a minimum of two vantage points to tell us something about a third phenomenon. Gorard and Taylor (2004) argue that – whatever the interpretation – triangulation cannot be used in the sense of mutual validation. It can only show that elements are in some way complementary. Thus, synthesising results from qualitative and quantitative methods is futile if all it means is using two or more methods to check up on each other in a simple way. Rather, it is the methods that should be complementary, producing different aspects of the reality under investigation and then put together (p. 46).

Gorard and Taylor conceptualise this “complementary combination of approaches” as a Venn diagram (Figure 5.2 below). Here, Sector C represents the overlap or confirmation of methods or perspectives (the traditional view of triangulation) and Sectors A and B are findings that can only be obtained by a method in isolation. The unshaded areas represent those findings that are unrelated to the study, errors or examples of “valuable serendipitous findings” (p. 46).

Figure 5.2 – Complementary combination of approaches



Gorard and Taylor, 2004, p. 47

The diagram shows the possibility of overlap between the qualitative and quantitative categories, although this distinction is questioned by Gorard and Taylor. They argue that quantitative methods are not ‘only’ about counting and measuring things; they also involve subjective judgements. At the same time, the analysis of data generated by qualitative methods, such as observation and interviews, can involve statistical claims, even if expressed in words such as ‘rare’ or ‘typical’ (pp. 14-41). The authors go on to suggest other ways of classifying methods that might be more meaningful, such as indirect vs. direct, or descriptive vs. explanatory. They also challenge the fashion for theories to be used as “lenses” (starting points or even articles of faith) rather than being “tested to destruction” (p. 39). Propositions need to be testable, so the research design should allow for the possibility of contrary evidence (p. 163). So, while theories can help us begin to make sense of the world, propositions need to be ‘falsifiable’ in order for science to progress (Popper, 1934).

Gorard and Taylor’s arguments for combining methods are ultimately pragmatic. In their view, research claims are stronger when based on a variety of methods, and can have greater impact. While facts and figures from quantitative research might be persuasive for policy makers, findings from qualitative research can provide ‘stories’ that are more easily remembered. Also, there is less waste of potentially useful information, and in cases where the background theory for an investigation is minimal, a combination of methods can help to generate theory (p. 7).

Alvesson and Deetz (2000) go further by challenging the qualitative/quantitative distinction, partly because it is somewhat artificial, but mainly on the grounds that it distracts the researcher from focusing on more important aspects of research, such as “highlighting the precarious nature and debatable nature of knowledge” (p. 61).

As mentioned above, one should also acknowledge how context affects the research design. Contextual factors include the need for the research itself, as outlined above, as well as practical considerations such as the constraints of limited time and resources. For the purposes of my inquiry, therefore, I take a pragmatic but principled “fit-for-purpose” approach whereby the choice of methods is determined by the needs and constraints of the investigation. This has echoes of a ‘bricolage’ methodology, although unlike ‘bricoleurs’ I could not claim that my eclectic use of methods is “groundbreaking”, “impudent”, “subversive” or “dangerous” (Kincheloe, 2004, pp. 4-8). There is, after all, nothing new about drawing on different disciplines and methods to get a sense of the complexity of a phenomenon. Depicting other scientists as bent on “the monological quest for order” (ibid p. 5) is misleading, given that it is common practice for scientists to combine methods, retrofitting them in the process.

My own research was carried out in sequential and overlapping stages, whereby the design of one stage was influenced by knowledge acquired from the previous one. For example, membership of a network of university translators afforded insights that could be explored in a regional focus group meeting, the outcomes of which informed the design of a larger-scale national questionnaire. This in turn yielded a comprehensive set of data pertinent to all three research questions, allowing me to identify themes that could be developed into a coding systems for the comparative analysis of source and target texts. At each stage, new questions arose that could be answered by particular individuals through interviews and email exchanges.

The methods of data collection for the three lines of inquiry are elaborated below.

5.3 Sources and instruments of data collection

5.3.1 Methods for researching actor dynamics

My first question (RQ1) concerns the actors involved in higher education translation and how their work relates to organisational self-representation. Here I used different methods to collect qualitative and quantitative data about individuals and groups involved in higher education translation, whose work is in some way directed towards constructing, projecting or regulating aspects of organisational identity. These include professional translators (the primary actors), coordinators of translation work, translation agencies, purveyors of translation software, and university staff members whose job involves explaining or representing their institution in both English and German (the secondary actors).

I collected the data in five ways and in overlapping stages:

- Attending conferences for university translators
- Following closed group email discussions for university translators
- Leading a focus group session with a regional group of university translators
- Administering a nationwide questionnaire to individuals involved directly or indirectly in higher education translation
- Comparing job advertisements for university translators

These methods, which also yielded data for the other two questions (RQ2 and RQ3), are described below.

University translator network and conferences

Belonging to the nation-wide *Netzwerk Hochschulübersetzer/innen* and looser networks of university translators allowed me to gain an insider perspective and a substantial body of data.

My initial motivation for joining this network sprang from my professional context. As head of a university language department, I am often approached with requests for translation services and advice on translating university jargon. Since translation falls outside the scope of my responsibilities, I made it my business to find out how other universities manage the burgeoning demand for translation, and how translators deal with the challenges of explaining one higher education system in terms of another. Spurred by the practical imperative to support my own university in this area, my research interests coalesced on responses of universities to the growing pressure to use English, and the role played by translation in particular. It was serendipity that the *Netzwerk Hochschulübersetzer/innen* was founded at around this time.

Conferences provide a useful setting to witness how an expert community develops. The events that I attended (see APPENDIX B) not only familiarised me with issues faced by university translators and the developments in the field, but also afforded opportunities to discuss topics in an informal ‘network’ setting, and meet individuals who could point me to information crucial for my research. While conferences are not the natural habitat of translators, this aspect of my research can be considered ethnographic to the extent that it is exploratory, unstructured and close to the community being studied (Alvesson and Deetz 2000, p. 75). Having got to know several members of the university translator network, I was also able to supplement the research notes taken during the conferences by contacting them through email or phone calls about specific questions.

Conference slides and proceedings, many of which are published on the Universität Mannheim website (2019), provided a further source of valuable empirical data. The key issues of language policy and translation management were raised at the very first network meeting at the Universität Mannheim in May 2014, for example in the presentations by Amanda Craig (“Translations into Plain English”) and Claudius Werry’s (“*Sprachendienste im Kontext der Internationalisierung*”/ Language Services in the Context of Internationalisation”. These themes were developed in depth and scope at subsequent conferences, with several presentations helping to answer all three RQs (Grünewald, 2017; Neudorfer, 2017; Hampel, 2017; Schmitt, 2016; Schrenk, 2017; Schmitt, 2017a; Karb-Ressing and Klein, 2017; Merenda, 2016).

The extension and refinement of conference topics over the four-year period reflects the emergence of university translation as a specialisation in its own right, coupled

with a growing understanding of its unique challenges. At the initial conferences, my approach was largely exploratory but also attuned to issues relevant to my professional context. In the later conferences, my focus was directed more sharply at data collection relevant to my three lines of inquiry.

As mentioned above, the research was carried out in overlapping stages, with each stage yielding data that had some bearing on the design of the next. Participating in conversations about higher education translation topics continued throughout.

Closed group email discussions

Belonging to a network of university translators also gave me access to three closed group email lists, which allowed me to follow and contribute to discussions on translation topics salient to higher education, to collect examples of terms proving contentious for extra-linguistic reasons, and to select comments worthy of quotation. One of these lists has an archive available to list members of all discussions dating back to 2013.

I grouped comments according to themes that relate not only to actor dynamics (RQ1) but also language shift (RQ2) and the strategic use of translation/L2 (RQ3):

- The role of the university translator
- Internationalisation
- Why a university might prefer one variant of English over another
- Challenges of explaining one higher education system in terms of another
- Aspects of academic/organisational/institutional/national culture that influence translation choices

Informed consent was obtained for quotes published in thesis, although not for isolated phrases.

Focus group

The focus group session took place with translators at the Universität Hohenheim in November 2014 on the occasion of the 1st Network Meeting for university translators in Baden-Württemberg. I had already gained some insight into issues of concern to them from the closed group email discussions and the first national conference. The occasion of this regional meeting presented an opportunity to hold a focus group session that would enable me to narrow down areas of potential significance in a loosely structured setting.

In a focus group, responses are elicited by facilitating interaction between participants. Compared to a structured interview, this type of setting is more likely to

generate a rich account of participants' experiences, knowledge and ideas, and to reveal new themes or information one had not been looking for. Thus, it is better viewed as the "scene for a conversation" than a simple tool for the collection of data (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000, pp. 71-75). My group consisted of nine translators who provide services to universities in Baden-Württemberg. Notes were taken by the organiser of the event (a translator) and a communications trainer. By delegating the note-taking in this way, I could concentrate on facilitating the discussion. The note-takers then produced reports, providing me with two sets of independent but complementary data, thus reducing the risk of confirmation bias and yielding a more rounded picture.

From previous discussions, some of the participants will have understood that I shared many of their professional concerns. At the outset I explained the purpose of my research, which was then still at an early stage, and that I would moderate the session. I also assured them of the anonymity of their responses. In order to ensure that they perceived a benefit from the experience, and to avoid the impression that I was 'mining for data', I based my session on carefully constructed prompts geared to my lines of inquiry, but with the flexibility to go 'off script' where necessary. In doing so, I drew upon my experience as a language teacher and conference moderator in eliciting responses, ensuring that all participants had opportunities to contribute, and building on rapport that had already been established by the organiser of the event,

The following topics were discussed:

- **Language (flashpoints in translation):** The aim was to elicit discussion about the complexities of higher education language, implications for status and identity, and power relations between translators and other members of the university. Participants were shown a list of ten German higher education terms on a flipchart and given discussion prompts.
- **Being a university translator:** Here, I aimed to get a general sense of what the job involved and how the translators see their role. This was a more free-flowing discussion, but still guided.
- **Processes and coordination:** Instead of asking the translators to describe these in detail, my questioning was directed at how processes of translation could be made more effective and efficient (obstacles and solutions). I also asked specific questions about power relations.
- **Anglicisation:** Without offering a definition of the term, my questions invited a discussion of attitudes towards the adoption of English.

The ten terms listed on the flipchart and the question prompts for the discussion are presented in APPENDIX C.

In the analysis of the reports, I used a colour-coding system to categorise information of relevance to the three research questions:

- **RQ1:** Role and status of translators; nature and scope of HE translation work
- **RQ2:** Translation challenges attributable to differences in academic cultures and aspects of status; resistance to translator's choices
- **RQ3:** Strategic use of English in profiling and positioning

I also underlined practical suggestions offered by the translators for dealing with particular linguistic and organisational challenges. Excerpts of the reports are provided in APPENDIX D to illustrate the use of coding.

The thematic analysis of data from the focus group informed the design of the questionnaire, which is described below.

Online questionnaire to translators in German higher education

This questionnaire was the primary means by which I collected data about actor dynamics. Having piloted it with a freelance translator and an in-house university translator, I sent it to 74 potential respondents involved in university translation work, whether as a professional translator or in a related capacity. Most were reached via the *Netzwerk Hochschulübersetzer/innen*, which includes professional translators and university staff whose departments or units provide or coordinate translation services.

The questionnaire consists of 55 questions, designed to yield information about internal and external influences on translation choices as they relate to organisational representation and the challenges faced by university translators. The questionnaire also elicits examples of university terminology where translation choices can be controversial due to differences in university systems, cultures and traditions. These 'untranslatables' frustrate efforts to create a truly bilingual university.

So, while the questionnaire focuses mainly on actor dynamics, it also helps to answer the other lines of inquiry: the extent to which German universities are becoming more Anglicised (even Americanised), and the potential of (mis-)translation to distort how universities represent themselves (RQ2), and the instrumental use of translation for profiling and positioning in domestic and international contexts (RQ3).

The questionnaire speaks to the translators directly, and has six parts:

1. Part A: Your background
2. Part B: Your role and status as a translator in higher education
3. Part C: The university (your employer or client)

4. Part D: Rationales and demand for English texts/translations
5. Part E: Translation and terminology management
6. Part F: Professional values and standards

Specifically, it collects data on the following:

- **Who the translators are:** occupational role (freelance/in-house, full-time/part-time, remuneration, contractual status, main area of responsibility if not employed primarily as a translator); scope of work; professional background (qualifications, involvement in associations or networks of translators that diffuse standards and practices); linguistic background (native/non-native speaker of English, preferences regarding variants of English, familiarity with English-speaking higher education systems, experience of university translation); professional values (e.g. approach to dealing with ‘untranslatables’, views on standardised terminology)
- **Organisational characteristics:** age, size and institutional profile of the university representing the translator’s main employer or client; estimated English language levels of students, researchers, administrative staff and teaching faculty; areas where English is supplanting German; whether the university comes across differently in translation
- **Rationales for translation/for English:** who the university seems most keen to reach through their English texts/translations; main reason why the university is investing in translation
- **Users of translation services:** groups and organisational units that make use of translation services
- **Scope of translation:** range of documents that the respondent has translated, proofread and/or authored in English
- **Translation policies and practice:** nature and extent of translation management; administrative unit responsible for this; university policy with regard to web pages; guidelines and standards governing translation practice and the adoption of a corporate language; prescribed model of English (e.g. BE/AE), if any; what is not translated and why; collaboration with other universities on translation-related projects; impact of translation work on source texts; who has the last word; use of technical tools (e.g. translation memory systems); whether translators encounter organisational resistance to their choices and to the growing use of English (& why)
- **‘Untranslatables’:** university jargon that presents a challenge to translators due to different institutional systems or academic cultures.

Not knowing the respondents’ occupational status posed a challenge for the

questionnaire design. I anticipated two groups: those who can be expected to have the ‘inside-out’ view of their university (in-house translators, staff in translation-related roles), and freelancers who might offer an ‘outside-in’ view of more than one university. One option would have been to use piping in the questionnaire design, leading each group to a different set of questions. However, this would have skewed the findings since some freelancers might also be in a position to offer an ‘insider’ perspective. My solution was to ask respondents to focus on the university with which they have the most dealings, and to comment if their experience varies according to the type of university they work for.

Knowing that respondents would be interested in the findings, I was tempted to create a comprehensive questionnaire covering the whole gamut of issues of concern to them. However, since the main purpose of the questionnaire was to collect data for this study, I aimed at a striking a balance: a questionnaire comprehensive enough to serve both the academic inquiry and the wider professional interest, yet short enough to maximise the response rate.

The questionnaire is in English. While this would not present a problem to translators, German translations are given where there is potential for misunderstanding. Furthermore, the questionnaire refers to all types of HEI as a university, but specifies the institutional type where appropriate.

A cross-tabulation of results shows how different groups of respondents answered the questions. For some questions I cross-tabulated according to institutional type (*Universität* vs. *Fachhochschule/Duale Hochschule*), and for others the linguistic background of the respondents, based on whether they identified themselves as a native speaker (NS) of English or German.

The questionnaire and comments by respondents on the questionnaire design are provided in the Appendix.

Comparative analysis of job advertisements

Job advertisements provided data about the required profile of a higher education translator, the nature and scope of the tasks, and what the organisation offers the translator in return. The details also provided an indication of the value attached to the role. For my study, I chose three translator vacancies advertised online:

- Universität Konstanz: *Referentin/Referenten für internationale Kommunikation Deutsch-Englisch-Deutsch* (Assistant for International Communication, German-English-German) (Universität Konstanz, 2016)

- Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena: *Übersetzer/in im Internationalen Büro der Zentralen Universitätsverwaltung* (Translator in the International Office of the Central University Administration) (Universität Jena, 2017)
- Technische Universität Dresden: *Übersetzer/in* (Translator) (TU Technische Universität Dresden, 2017)

For the comparison, I focused on the job description (title, unit/department, tasks, duties, responsibilities), the person specification (qualifications, skills, personal attributes), and the offer (contractual terms, remuneration, perks and benefits).

5.3.2 Methods for researching language shift and distorting effects of translation

The second research question (RQ2) asks how translation into English might have a distorting effect on how German universities represent themselves, and what the mitigating factors might be. I sought to answer this by collecting data that shows whether the organisations under investigation are becoming more Anglicised (or Americanised) in the way they present themselves in English, or whether a different form of language shift was taking place. I also looked for ‘inadvertent’ distortions that might be explained by, for example, an absence of language policy or a lack of attention to translation management.

Documentary analysis

The principal method was the coding and analysis of documentary data. Documentary analysis involves selecting relevant texts, interpreting their purpose and message, examining the use of language, and making an informed guess as to the effect on the reader. The word ‘documentary’ is somewhat misleading, because the text does not need to be a document in the traditional sense. The texts can be of any type (invoice, contract, form, image, organisation chart) from any genre (mission statement, slogan), and delivered through any type of media (print, digital, signage in buildings). Indeed, the notion of text can be extended to audio and visual evidence (Punch, 2014, p. 158).

Punch (2014) observes that “a distinguishing feature of our society may well be the vast array of ‘documentary evidence’ that is routinely compiled and retained” (p. 158). Since organisations define and represent themselves through the medium of text, a comparison of parallel texts is necessary in the case of bilingual organisations.

Punch distinguishes between three uses of documentary evidence. The first is to put the focus on content provided by the data. As mentioned above, the sources of data

analysed for content include conference slides and proceedings and comments in closed email discussions. These helped to answer RQ1 and RQ3 in particular.

The second use of documentary evidence noted by Punch is for purposes of triangulation, i.e. where it is used to support or complement evidence obtained using a different method (p. 158). Combined with intertextual analysis (Oswick, 2012, pp. 481-484), it can be used to expose, corroborate and even explain paradoxes, inconsistencies or contradictions (Koskinen, 2008, p. 150). For example, where a style guide calls for the use of American English but the university website is written in British English, the reasons could be explored through interviews.

The third approach is ethnographic, whereby documentary evidence is just one of many sources of information that can be mined in an exploratory way, and where the researcher enters the territory without preconceptions as to what might be found. In reality, the researcher does have an inkling of what to look for, and for practical reasons alone it is useful to define the text types and have a clear focus of analysis.

It is in the interpretation that the exploration begins, and the nature of my topic necessitates a fourth, linguistically-based approach that draws on organisational discourse analysis (Phillips and Oswick, 2012), which focuses on language use in organisational contexts, and in particular Fairclough's (2003) framework for the social analysis of spoken and written discourse. This is a version of critical discourse analysis (CDA) using a method that Fairclough describes as "textually oriented" to distinguish it from discourse analysis in the Foucauldian tradition, which is inspired by social theory, but does not engage with the linguistic features of texts (pp. 2-3). Fairclough's approach involves taking representative samples of texts and analysing them for their context and genre, competing discourses, and specific linguistic features such as grammar and vocabulary, in order to explore a given social research theme. Linguistic data that could indicate language shift might include, for example, the adoption of Anglicisms (English loan words). As mentioned above, this could reflect the growing influence of English in general, or the specific use of English for strategic purposes, e.g. to enhance prestige.

Comparison of source and target texts

To examine the potential of translation to misrepresent an organisation, I compared the German originals with their translated versions (source and target texts) for shifts in language use and distortions of meaning.

Table 5.1 below presents examples of text types and genres suitable for this purpose, together with their communicative function and the corresponding focus of analysis.

Table 5.1 – Texts for researching organisational representation in translation

Text type/genre	Communicative function	Focus of analysis
Organisation chart	Showing who is responsible for what	Comparing translated labels with regard to titles and functions
Mission statement	Communicating the purpose of the organisation	Examining distortions of meaning and degrees of localisation by comparing source and target texts with regard to similarities and differences in grammar and lexis, style, register, images and technical elements
‘Welcome pages’ and ‘About us’ profiles on university websites	Providing an idealised profile of the organisation and its history	
Profiles and posts on social media sites (e.g. Facebook)	Promoting the university to current and prospective students	
Glossaries and styles guides	Regularising language for purposes of effective communication and presenting a professional image	Comparing documents for information about vocabulary choices and levels of prescriptivism
Signage on campus	Welcoming, informing, warning, prohibiting, showing the way, etc.	Examples of monolingual vs. bilingual signage

Source: Own representation

University websites, both the German pages and their English translations, provide a rich source of data about the university in its bilingual guises. Of particular interest is the university’s English ‘web presence’, because this serves the twin functions of internationalisation ‘abroad’ and ‘at home’, as a virtual calling card in representing the university to its external audiences, and as a repository for English-language versions of administrative documents and forms in English to help international academics and students manage university life (LKS-BW, 2018).

The examination of university websites involved collecting data from different types of HEI in Germany, the selection being guided by the research questions. In order to ensure a range of institutional types for purposes of text analysis (websites, representation on social media), I applied the following criteria:

- Two HEIs in the same city, a *Fachhochschule* and a *Universität*, that would allow cross comparisons between the German websites and their English equivalents.
- At least one relatively young *Universität* (post-1950)
- At least one of Germany’s original *Universitäten* (pre-1500)
- At least one *Universität* that is heavily-research oriented, e.g. a member of the League of European Research Universities (Leru) or the German U15
- At least two *Fachhochschulen* (founded since 1971)
- At least three HEIs in the state of Baden-Württemberg, where the coordination of higher education translation and terminology receives state funding

- For control purposes: At least one HEI located outside Baden-Württemberg, and at least one that is neither a *Universität* nor a *Fachhochschule*
- At least one university with explicit ambitions to become bilingual/trilingual
- Each should claim to be ‘international’, and have an English-language website

The table below summarises the key characteristics of ten HEIs that fulfil one or more of the given criteria.

Table 5.2 – German HEIs Selected for Analysis

Name of institution	Characteristics
Goethe-Universität Frankfurt	Founded 1914; third largest <i>Universität</i> in Germany, located in Hessen; approx. 47,000 students
Frankfurt University of Applied Sciences	Status as a <i>Fachhochschule</i> since 1971; located in Hessen; approx. 12,500 students
Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg	Founded 1457; located in Baden-Württemberg; former recipient of <i>Exzellenzinitiativ</i> -funding; approx. 26,500 students
Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen	Founded 1477; located in Baden-Württemberg; current recipient of <i>Exzellenzinitiativ</i> -funding; approx. 28,500 students
Universität Konstanz	Founded 1966; modern campus; located in Baden-Württemberg; current recipient of <i>Exzellenzinitiativ</i> -funding; approx. 11,706 students
Universität Hamburg	Founded 1919; located in the northern German state of Hamburg; approx. 42,023 students
Universität Mannheim	Founded 1946; located in Baden-Württemberg; aims at becoming a bilingual institution; approx. 12,000 students
Duale Hochschule Baden- Württemberg – (Cooperative State University)	Status as a (<i>Duale</i> -)Hochschule since 2009; decentralised structure (9 locations) in Baden-Württemberg; dual work-study programmes in partnership with employers; approx. 34,000 students; abbreviated as DHBW

Name of institution	Characteristics
Hochschule Furtwangen University	Status as (<i>Fach-</i>) <i>Hochschule</i> since 1971; located in Baden-Württemberg with approx. 6,600 students
Universität des Saarlandes / Saarland University / L'Université de la Sarre	Founded 1948 in cooperation with France; located in the Saar-Lor-Lux, bordering France and Luxembourg; approx. 17,300 students

Both principled and practical considerations account for the predominance of Baden-Württemberg HEIs in the selection. First and foremost, it is here that we find the most concerted efforts to coordinate higher education translation. Of particular interest is the Universität Mannheim, which hosts the conferences of the *Netzwerk Hochschulübersetzer/innen*, and since December 2016 has received state funding for coordinating higher education translation matters in Baden-Württemberg (the *Landeskoordinationsstelle* referred to above in Chapter 4). At this university, the process of translation has been project-managed since 2013 under the name ‘Campus International’, with the aim of raising the status of English until it is on a par with German, thereby achieving the vision of a bilingual university. A further consideration was that being employed by the Duale Hochschule Baden-Württemberg / Cooperative State University (DHBW) afforded me an insider’s perspective of a decentralised organisation that cultivates a ‘dual identity’ profile.

My analysis was not confined to these universities, for example I studied webpages of other universities as relevant to the research questions. A private university would have been a further option for inclusion, but there are very few such institutions in Germany. Also, at the time of writing, even the more prominent ones such as Hochschule Fresenius in Frankfurt do not have an English-language

For the comparative analysis, I adopted a two-step approach. Step 1 was largely exploratory, and involved comparing German webpages with their English translations to identify significant differences and patterns. This provided insights that informed the design of a coding system to be used in Step 2, where four English translations of a single source text were compared. These steps are described below.

Step 1: Comparing German webpages with their English translations

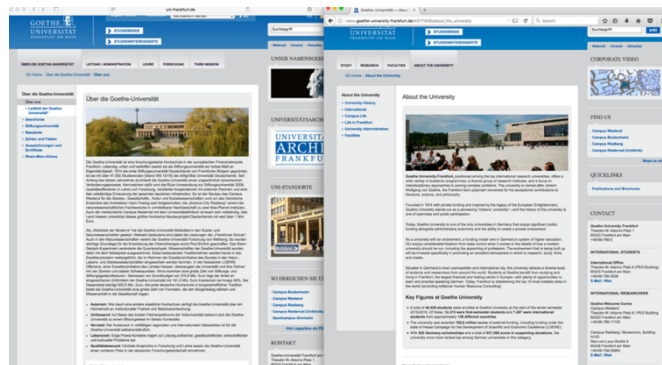
A comparison of selected German university websites/webpages with their English translations yielded data for both RQ2 (language shift and the unintentional distortions arising in translation) and RQ3 (use of translation as an instrument in profiling and positioning).

In Madison and Brenn-White's study (2014), participating universities were asked to submit pages for analysis. For my study I selected the pages myself, beginning with English and German pages that showcase the university (*Startseite/Welcome*, *Über uns/About us*). Using two browsers, I was able to take a screenshot of juxtaposed German/English pages from the selected universities. Some pages look strikingly similar at first glance. Those failing what I refer to as the 'squint test' (not looking too closely) provide the first indications of how a university looks different in translation. Those that appeared similar at first sight warranted closer inspection nevertheless. The gold standard I adopted for analysis is Koskinen's concept of equivalency, whereby the illusion is created that the translation is the original text (2000, p. 55). The concept of *skopos* (equivalency of communicative function) is also relevant if the two audiences have the same needs.

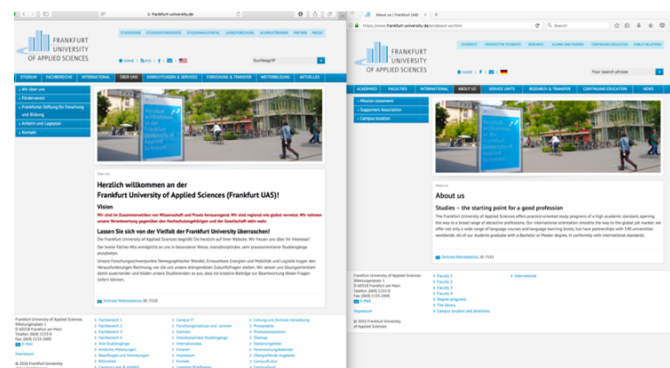
Examples of juxtaposed German and English webpages from websites of two universities in the same city (Goethe University Frankfurt and the Frankfurt University of Applied Sciences) are presented below in **Figure 5.3**.

Figure 5.3 – Examples of Juxtaposed German and English Webpages

Goethe Universität Frankfurt-am-Main / Goethe University Frankfurt



Frankfurt University of Applied Sciences



Even without reading the texts, one sees at a glance differences in non-linguistic elements such as text length, density, page layout, pictorial elements (images, icons) and even the stage of completeness.

To gauge the nature and extent of Anglicisation, I began by examining the German pages for instances of English higher education terminology. This involved collecting examples of Anglicisms relating to higher education, cross-referencing them with the *Anglizismen-Index* of the Verein Deutsche Sprache (2017), then categorising them according to type. A high proportion of Type 3 would suggest that English higher education terminology is supplanting the German. I also looked for loan words from other languages and examples of vocabulary, spelling and orthography that might indicate a preference for a particular variant of English.

In the English pages, I examined language use that has the effect of preserving the unique personality of the organisation, or retaining the character of the German text. This includes the non-translation of German titles, ‘Germanisms’ and literal word-for-word translations. With regard to deviations from the source text, I collected examples of mistranslations that could confuse or mislead the reader. I also noted linguistic errors and inconsistencies in style that create an unfavourable, and therefore distorted, impression of the organisation. In most cases, the introductory pages alone provided clues as to the translation policy, the nature and extent of language shift, the distortion of meaning, and the standard of the translation. Where useful, I probed further through the website to identify points at which the source and target texts diverged, bearing in mind that university translation is always a work-in-progress.

This method of comparing German webpages with their corresponding English pages also proved useful in answering RQ3 (strategic use of language), and is therefore described in more detail in Section 5.3.3 below. The focal points of the website analysis for both RQ2 and RQ3 are summarised in APPENDIX G. These also guided the analysis for Step 2, as explained below.

Step 2: Comparing sample translations of the same source text

The second step of the analysis, informed by the findings of the first, involved comparing different English translations of a single German webpage. Here, the aim was to determine how individual translation choices affect how a university represents itself, and to identify instances of Anglicisation and localisation.

The university in question, the Duale Hochschule Baden-Württemberg / University of Cooperative Education (DHBW), has distinctive characteristics that pose a challenge to translators, for example its decentralised structure and pioneering degree-level apprenticeships. The texts for analysis originated in a test to find a suitable translator

for the website of one of the campuses. Three bidders (two agencies, one translator) were shortlisted by the International Office and the Language Department, then sent a page from the website to translate by a deadline. The bidders received no guidelines other than formatting instructions. The resulting translations were then anonymised and judged blind by three native speakers of English, all linguists. The judges were able to agree on which was the best in terms of fitness for purpose, but found all translations to be of a high standard. This allowed me to focus on distortions of meaning rather than fault-finding.

For control purposes, I produced a version using the Google Translate tool. Electronic translations are becoming increasingly sophisticated, and The Google Neural Machine Translation system (GNMT), introduced in September 2016 as an improvement on the system of phrase-based statistical translation, has the ability to learn from the people who used it, and to make guesses about the content, tone and meaning of phrases from contextual clues (Metz, 2016; Fewster, 2017).

In order to compare the four translations, I developed a colour-coding system for highlighting linguistic items and other elements in the translated texts, where the colours signify the nature and extent of localisation and Anglicisation when shown on a spectrum (Figure 5.4 below).

Figure 5.4 – Colour-coding spectrum for measuring increased Anglicisation

Close to source text		Increasing localization/Anglicisation				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

The numbers and colours signify the following:

1. **Red Distortion of meaning due to errors in the target language:** Errors in grammar, word choice and spelling that could mislead or confuse the reader, or undermine the professional image of the organisation.
2. **Orange Characteristically German:** Language that hews closely to the German original, e.g. word-for-word translations, German syntax, nominalisation, collocation, and using compounds rather than genitive forms.
3. **Yellow Characteristically English:** Language that is more characteristically English, avoiding literal translations and contributing to an authentic feel; greater consistency in the use of either British or American English.
4. **Green English translations of German names and labels:** Translation into English of titles, qualifications and names of institutions without clarification. (Omitting the full German designation downplays or disguises its origin.)

5. **Blue Editing of content:** Taking liberties with the text by going beyond the intended message, e.g. omission, embellishment, adding new content. The motive may have been to correct an infelicity or to clarify/exaggerate.
6. **Lilac Localisation:** Adapting or retrofitting of a text or body of texts to a specific (if global) audience, e.g. by changing names, symbols, images, formatting, entry fields on forms, and elements of style relating to readability and register.
7. **Pink Native-speaker orientation:** Language that replicates the style and readability level of the source text, where an extreme example would be an expression that only a certain type of native speaker can understand.

A coded text with a predominance of **red** and **orange** would be substandard, and is likely to be an overly literal translation, i.e. too close to the German. At the other end of the spectrum, a dominance of **pink** could represent a linguistically accurate translation that faithfully reproduces the style of the original, but whose message is lost on the audience. Neither would be fit for purpose

When comparing the translations, I also considered text length, text density and readability. Measuring text length and density can be done simply by looking at how much space the text takes up on a page. A more interesting picture emerges from a word count in Microsoft WORD that also lists the number of characters with and without spaces. Two texts with the same word count can differ in length. Since German is an agglutinative language, this reduces the word count and increases the text density.

To measure readability, I used the Gunning Fog Index, the Flesch Reading Ease index, and the Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level test. These digital tools give weighted averages of the number of words per sentence and the number of long words per text. Generally, the Gunning Fog Index estimates the years of formal education a person needs to understand a text easily on first reading, whereby a score of 12 is said to represent the reading level of an 18-year-old school leaver. The other two tests were carried out by activating the readability statistics in WORD when doing a spelling and grammar check. With the Flesch Reading Ease test, the higher the score, the easier the document is to read. For most standard files, the score should be between 6 and 7. The Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level test rates text on a US school grade level. For example, a score of 8.0 means that an 8th grader can understand the document

The original text and the coded translations are shown in APPENDIX O.

Comparative analysis of glossaries

In addition to the analysis of webpages, I examined glossaries of HE terminology, comparing how particular German terms are translated differently by different universities. The glossary collated by the *Landeskoordinierungsstelle für Übersetzungsangelegenheiten im Hochschulwesen Baden-Württemberg* (LKS-BW, 2017), available to staff at all universities in the state, proved especially useful. Twelve universities (including my own) contributed to the glossary, which has been regularly updated. It is presented as an Excel spreadsheet listing the German term, translations suggested by different (named) universities, preferences regarding British or American English, and other comments and caveats. Sections are organised by theme, for example teaching functions and positions, examinations, and terms relating to doctoral and post-doctoral studies.

Observing linguistic landscapes

A further means of collecting data for RQ2 combines ethnography with linguistic analysis, and involves the observation of ‘linguistic landscapes’. This is defined as “the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs in a given territory” (Landry and Bouhris 1997, p. 23). The extent and nature of language shift in a local setting can be observed, for example, by analysing language use as it appears on pin-boards, signs and notices, and as graffiti. The adoption of rituals and dress codes associated with other higher education systems or academic cultures provide non-verbal clues to linguacultural shift in the broader sense.

Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews with members of academic staff at the Villingen-Schwenningen campus of the DHBW were used to collect views on the adoption of academic rituals associated with Anglicisation, in particular the cap-and-gown tradition at graduation ceremonies. Since these interviews were also used to collect data about the strategic use of translation (or English), the method is explained below.

5.3.3 Methods for researching the strategic use of translation

The third research question (RQ3) deals with the strategic use of translation/L2. My aim was to understand how German universities use English instrumentally for purposes of profiling, positioning and legitimisation, and how intentions might be reflected in the target texts. This involved collecting data in the following areas:

- 1. Organisational goals:** Institutional demand, rationales for translation, investment in translation as an indicator of its significance, perceived

advantages of being represented in English domestically and internationally, perceptions of how the university comes across in translation

2. **Translation policies and strategies:** What is (not) translated, labelling and branding, role of corporate language, positions on the translation of proper nouns, justifications for adopting English titles for German-taught courses, and choice of BE/AE, policies on style and dealing with flashpoints
3. **Challenges to translation:** Organisational resistance to translation and the adoption of English in general; ‘untranslatables’ and how they are dealt with

I collected data from the questionnaire, statistical databases of course titles, comparative text analysis, and interviews. These methods are described in turn below.

Statistical analysis of databases

Starting with the ‘how’, organisations can reposition themselves by differentiating their product range and relabelling their products. The strategic use of English includes the relabelling of course titles, where courses are given English titles even if taught in German. A valuable source of such data is the website ‘Higher Education Compass’ of the German Rectors Conference (HRK, 2017). This is an open database listing over 10,000 degree courses offered in Germany, their areas of specialisation, and the language of instruction. Using this tool, it is possible to determine the percentage of courses with English titles taught completely or mainly in English, and those with English titles taught completely or mainly in German.

Comparative analysis of German and English versions of university websites

As mentioned above, the comparative analysis of German and English versions of university websites provided data for both RQ2 and RQ3. In the case of RQ2, my focus was on language shift and unintentional distortions of meaning. For RQ3, I sought evidence of what could be construed as deliberate use of translation as an instrument in profiling and positioning, paying special attention to the following:

- Edited English websites or individual webpages where content had been added or omitted
- Webpages in English for which there is no corresponding page in German
- Examples of translation choices that indicate decisions about positioning or profiling (e.g. university vs. *Universität*, explicit preference for AE/BE).

The criteria for comparison are listed in APPENDIX G.

Semi-structured interviews with university staff members

In addition to the focus group session with university translators, semi-structured interviews were carried out with eleven members of university staff in different academic and non-academic roles at one university campus. These interviews provided further data for RQ2 and RQ3, adding the perspectives of staff involved in administration, management, teaching, or research. The themes, derived from the research questions, focused on two topics:

- **Topic A:** Linguacultural shift (or the Anglicisation of the university), as expressed in the adoption of symbols and rituals associated with universities in English-speaking countries (**RQ2**)
- **Topic B:** The strategic use of labelling, as exemplified by the adoption of English for German-taught degree courses (**RQ2, RQ3**)

With the exception of one individual, an intern from the USA, everyone was interviewed on both topics, resulting in a total of 21 interviews. The intern was not interviewed on Topic B because in order to discuss alternative titles to the English, she would have needed a higher level of proficiency in German and some knowledge of the university's history, which in her case was limited.

I prepared the interviewees by explaining that instead of a conventional interview, they would be shown realia and asked to comment on what they noticed.

For Topic A (linguacultural shift), I used photos of past and recent graduation ceremonies at the university to illustrate the adoption of academic regalia (the cap and gown tradition) among students. Interviewees were invited to compare the photos, suggest reasons for the differences, and give their personal response. Three of these photos are shown in Figure 5.5 below:

Figure 5.5 – Spot-the-difference images of graduation ceremonies



(DHBW-VS, 2018)

For Topic B, I presented interviewees with a list of degree programmes at the university that are taught wholly or mainly in German, but have English titles. Interviews on both topics were structured in the same way. I asked interviewees to describe what has changed and why, and to explain their response. My aim was to create a relaxed atmosphere in which they could talk openly, without the feeling of being interrogated. With RQ3 in mind, my questions focused on the use of English for profiling and positioning, where I sought to probe beyond predictable explanations of English being the dominant lingua franca.

The 21 interviews, with an average duration of 10 minutes, were recorded and transcribed. Where interviews were conducted in German, I produced a summary in English and translated selected quotes. The transcripts lend themselves well to thematic analysis, which involves identifying, defining, describing, organising, interpreting and reporting themes/patterns within a data set (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun and Clarke, 2006; Nowell, Norris, Moules and White, 2017). To this end, I combined a top-down thematic analysis driven by the research questions, with a bottom-up inductive analysis based on themes of interest arising from the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 12). In doing so, I used the following colours to highlight relevant text segments (topic coding).

- **Green:** Reasons for the adoption of customs/traditions/rituals associated with academia in the English-speaking world (Topic A), and for adopting English titles for German-taught courses (Topic B); why and how change came about
- **Yellow:** Personal responses (attitudes, beliefs, insights, impressions)
- **Turquoise:** Confusion about the meaning of particular expressions or rituals
- **Purple:** Indications of non-compliance or resistance to change

The first two themes were pre-specified. It was in the process of analysis that I identified the other two as being of interest. Further subthemes became apparent during the analysis (e.g. prestige, nostalgia, dividing attitudes into positive/negative), but further coding would have added unnecessary complexity.

The full selection of photos and the list of course titles are included in APPENDIX H and APPENDIX J respectively. A list of the interviewees (pseudonyms), their roles, and selected excerpts from the transcripts is given in APPENDIX Q. The complete transcripts can be provided on request.

Where I needed factual information rather than subjective responses, or where oral interviews were not practicable, I used email. A list of questions and prompts for interviews with policy makers is given in APPENDIX K. I drew from this list selectively, depending on the role and the function of the participant.

5.4 Summary of data collection methods

Each of the sources and instruments served to answer more than just one research question, and data collected from methods used at the outset helped to inform the design of methods that followed. Nevertheless, for each research question there was one method that predominated: For RQ1 this was the questionnaire to translators, for RQ2 text analysis, and for RQ3 interviews. Table 5.3. below summarises the methods of data collection and analysis according to the research question.

Table 5.3 – Overview of Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

Source/method	Sample	Focus	Technique
Closed group email discussions	Archived discussions since 2013 between university translators representing over 80 universities	RQ1, RQ2, RQ3 Exploratory, focus on meaning and identifying salient themes	Recording and selection of comments by theme
Participating in conferences for university translators	University translators and providers of translation services representing over 80 universities in Germany	RQ1, RQ2, RQ3 Initially exploratory; then more focused on lines of inquiry	Interpretation of content of research notes & conference slides/reports
Focus group (regional); semi-structured	Nine university translators in Baden-Württemberg, one moderator (me) & two note-takers	RQ1, RQ2, RQ3 Content and attitudes (sense-making); flashpoints	Thematic coding of responses based on two reports of same event
Online questionnaire (national)	Completed by 50 individuals involved in university translation across Germany (67% response rate)	RQ1, RQ2, RQ3 Content (qualitative and quantitative); flashpoints	Analysis and interpretation of results, with some cross-tabulation
Documentary analysis	3 vacancies for university translators published online	RQ1 Job description & person specification	Comparison of requirements, demands, offer
	Webpages (English and German) of 10 German HEIs, selected according to institutional type, age and size	RQ2, RQ3 Language shift in source texts; Extent and nature of distortions in target texts	Identifying types of Anglicism; comparison of source & target texts for linguistic & extra-linguistic features
	4 translations (three human and one machine) of a single university webpage	RQ1, RQ2 Distortions of meaning; translator role; linguistic relativity	Statistical analysis for readability, density, length; coding for nature & degree of Anglicisation
	Collation of HE terminology based on glossaries of different universities (LSK, 2017); other university DE-EN lists	RQ2, RQ3 Variations in HE terminology choices in translation relating to OI	Identifying and recording salient examples; collating them with flashpoints
Statistical database analysis	<i>Higher Education Compass</i> (HRK 2017) listing bachelor	RQ3 Re-labelling; false labelling, decoupling	Statistical analysis to assess % of German-

	degree courses in German, section A-E		taught courses with English titles
Semi-structured interviews	21 recorded interviews involving 11 members of university staff in academic and non-academic roles	RQ2, RQ3 Perspectives on Anglicisation and strategic use of L2 in labelling/ branding	Thematic coding and analysis of interview transcripts
Study of linguistic landscapes	Photos of (1) English-language signs & notices in two German HEIs; (2) academic rituals/dress associated with universities in Anglophone countries	RQ2, RQ3 Verbal & non-verbal indicators of lingua-cultural shift	Interpretative; identifying patterns

Source: own representation

5.5 My role as researcher and ethical considerations

Since all researchers are participants in their investigation, no scientific endeavour can ever be devoid of subjectivity and bias. This is especially true of the social sciences, where the focus of study is human behaviour, and where a subject's awareness of being observed can influence their behaviour, the so-called "observer effect" as popularised by the Hawthorne experiments (Hindle, 2008). My data collection methods include some ethnographic techniques, with me as both participant-in and observer-of the situation (Punch, 2014, pp. 158-157). The two roles (observer and participant) are linked with the notions of outsider and insider. For an undertaking to pass muster as 'scientific', one is expected to demonstrate the objectivity and disinterested reflection of an outsider, in as far as this is possible. On the other hand, subjects may be more likely to provide useful data to a researcher who demonstrates an informed interest in their field.

So, rather than pretending a cloak of invisibility, I acknowledge my role as participant and insider to the extent that I am employed by a German university and am regularly confronted with issues of language policy and translation management, and often consulted on matters relating to how the university represents itself in English. Inevitably, then, I bring my experience and views to bear when researching the topic. My motivation for choosing this area of research stems from an interest in language politics and organisational behaviour, but also a desire to become an expert on my topic. Ultimately, though, the main thrust of my inquiry is academic, contributing to theory and practice in higher education translation. I aspire to being scientific in the sense of being inquisitive, sceptical, methodical, reflective, and transparent about my relationship with the subject matter.

A scientific approach also requires compliance with principals and procedures relating to research ethics. These buttress the credibility of the findings, and ensure

that participants are not harmed or disadvantaged in any way. Oliver (2003) offers a guide to the range of ethical issues that may arise during the research process. Examples of issues that are specific to this inquiry are listed in APPENDIX L as a checklist of questions that follow the stages of the research process, and accompanied by notes of how I dealt with these issues. For example, one question is whether the research is morally justified. I judge this to be the case in that it contributes to theory and research in the field, and offers practical recommendations and guidelines of benefit to higher education managers.

A consideration worth elaborating here is the need to obtain informed consent and ensure confidentiality. As well as being a cornerstone of research ethics, this has gained significance with the EU-wide General Data Protection Regulations (GDPR), which came into force in May 2018 (Summers, 2018). While issues of consent exist in all research projects, ethnography brings them to the fore (Koskinen 2008, p. 55-6), and special care is needed to protect respondents' privacy. So, at the risk of weakening my argument in certain cases, responses are anonymised by eliminating references such as places and events that might identify certain individuals or organisations. As mentioned above, written consent was obtained from contributors to group email discussions whose comments are used. For the interviews, I produced transcripts of the recordings (paraphrased versions of interviews in German), offered make them available to participants on request, and obtained written consent for publishing comments. Names were pseudonymised unless respondents specified that their name could be used. I did not obtain written consent for the focus group study because the questions were not of a personal or sensitive nature, and there was no means of identifying individuals through their comments. Thus, there was no risk of any harm to participants.

Of course, a simple checklist cannot do justice to the complexity of ethical issues in research and a 'box-ticking' approach is no substitute for an ethical disposition. Ethical dilemmas are bound to arise that have not been anticipated. When this happens, it is helpful to seek the advice, or at least the different perspectives, of one's peers (Oliver, 2003, pp. 146-152).

PART III - Outcomes

6 Findings

Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the empirical part of my study. It is largely descriptive, but with some preliminary interpretation and analysis that paves the way to the final chapters, where insights are developed and implications for theory and practice considered.

The structure mirrors that of the previous chapter in that the findings are grouped according to the three lines of inquiry rather than particular research methods. This is because some methods helped to answer more than one research question, while others produced similar results. The findings are ascribed to the methods or sources that yielded them, yet avoiding repetition unless it serves purposes of corroboration.

6.1 Actor dynamics and organisational identity

6.1.1 The actors in higher education translation

The first line of inquiry (RQ1) concerns actor dynamics, where the aim was to establish who the actors are in higher education translation, and how their work relates to organisational self-representation.

The principle means of collecting data was the online questionnaire. During the survey period (4 August to 27 September 2017), it was sent to 74 individuals involved in higher education translation and yielded 50 responses, equivalent to a response rate of 67%. Since the majority of respondents (70%) reported that at least half of their work involves translation for the higher education sector, the findings can be considered representative.

Findings from other sources (online discussions, conference proceedings, focus group session, job advertisements) that either corroborate, complement or contradict the questionnaire results for RQ1 are also presented here. Questionnaire results that help to answer RQ2 and RQ3 are presented below in Sections 6.1.2 and 6.1.3 respectively.

Official and unofficial translators

Overall, the findings confirm a variety of institutional translator roles and shed light

on a new role that seems to be emerging: that of ‘cultural chaperone’. The findings also show that while the number of universities employing professional in-house university translators has increased, a significant amount of translation work continues to be carried out both by external providers and by university staff not formally recognised as translators. There is also a blurring of roles, with translators doing identity work, and identity workers doing translations or carrying out translation-related tasks.

It was noted during the focus group session that universities still rely on agencies and freelancers, but the questionnaire results present a more complex picture: The majority of questionnaire respondents (60%) report that they are currently employed as a university translator, with 52% regarding this as their primary role. A further 16% occupy hybrid functions, for example where an in-house translator also coordinates translation services. Significantly, over a fifth (22%) hold positions that involve ‘unofficial’ translation or translation-related duties. Respondents in this group are most likely to be working in areas related to internationalisation (international office, language centre) and identity management (marketing and communications). Other roles requiring ‘unofficial’ translation range from website development, and teaching faculty assistance to “Research/ Funding/ Support”. Several respondents have a part-time translator post that they supplement with freelance translation work, but only 10% of respondents describe themselves as wholly freelance or self-employed. This group may be under-represented in the findings, however, given the difficulty of reaching freelance translators who are not members of the network.

The in-house translators work alone or in small teams and mostly on university premises, with 45% employed as the sole translator, and 26% as “head translator”. Where translation teams exist, they typically comprise one head translator or coordinator plus a few other translators. In some cases, work is also contracted out. Indeed, 25% of university translators report that they also coordinate translation services from agencies or freelancers, and 23% of all respondents agree that most translation work at their university is carried out by external translators.

The term “in-house university translator” thus encompasses the professional translators, those in hybrid roles, and indeed any member of staff whose work requires switching between languages.

Generally, six main translator roles or categories can be identified, four of them ‘in-house’. These are summarised below in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 – Translator roles in universities

Category	Roles	Related responsibilities
In-house	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Official translator: Main job in translation; typically working alone or as the head/member of a small team 2. Hybrid translator: Translation duties combined with another role, e.g. International Officer 3. Unofficial translator: Not responsible for translation, but role requires use of the target language 4. Translation coordinator: Liaises with providers of translation services 	Lecturing Marketing Communications International office/affairs Strategy Website development Language centre Faculty assistance Student affairs/services Support for research funding
External providers	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. Translation agency 6. Freelance translator 	May be working for more than one university

Source: Own representation

Individuals may occupy multiple translator roles, for example an international officer in a part-time position whose duties combine translation and liaising with external providers, and who translates for another university on a freelance basis. Given the elasticity of the term “in-house translator”, the findings with regard to the ratio of in-house to external translators are inconclusive. Nevertheless, it is clear from the findings that institutional translation is the outcome of work by various types of identity worker, not only those in official translator roles.

The role of unofficial translator includes that of interpreter. One of the unexpected findings from the investigation was the identification of a new variant of interpreter, which I refer to as ‘cultural chaperone’. This role goes beyond abstract notions of ‘cultural mediator’ or ‘cultural bridge’ in that it involves helping a specific person or group navigate their way through an organisational culture. An example of this is bilingual lecturer who has been invited by a research institute affiliated to a leading German university to introduce a highly sought-after researcher to the university’s academic culture and guide them through the bureaucracy. To my knowledge there is no official designation for this, but it seems to be unique to the higher education context and could become more important, as discussed in the following chapter.

Translator attributes likely to affect target texts

As well as revealing a variety of translator roles, the findings also shed light on attributes of translators that affect the process and outcomes of translation, in particular their linguistic background, professional credentials, occupational status, and dispositions.

The demand for professional translation services is partly due to university staff lacking the necessary language skills. Most of the questionnaire respondents (76%) estimate the percentage of staff members who are native speakers of English to be below 5%, and only two respondents estimate it to be higher than 20%. The English proficiency of the staff members who are non-native speakers of English was estimated to be highest for the researchers (C1/C2) on the CERF scale³, and lowest for the administrative staff (A1/A2). Postgraduate students were more likely than teaching faculty to be assessed at B2/C1, with undergraduates at B1/B2. While these findings point to a skills gap, they should be treated with caution because they may include assessments of staff who are not expected to work or teach in English. Nevertheless, it is significant that the very group responsible for producing and disseminating organisational texts and helping students and academics to navigate the system are also the least likely to have a working knowledge of English. If this hampers efforts to provide the same level of professional service in L2 as in L1, it could adversely affect how university life is experienced by non-German-speaking students and academics, and how the university is perceived by its external audiences.

The questionnaire also collected data about the linguistic background of the university translators themselves, on the assumption that familiarity with a particular higher education system or a bias towards a particular variant of English might be reflected in translations. The results show a fairly equal distribution of native and non-native speakers of English: 40% native speakers of German, 36% native speakers of English (36%), 20% bilingual German/English, and two describing themselves as bilingual German/Russian. Asked which variant of English comes more naturally to them, more respondents feel at home with British than American English (58%/40%), and are more familiar with the English than the American higher education system (54%/38%). Cross tabulation shows a more pronounced bias towards British English and greater familiarity with the English higher education system amongst the native speakers of German, a tendency that could be explained by the way English is taught at school in Germany. However, the bias towards British English is not corroborated by the website analysis (Section 6.2), so in this respect the findings are inconclusive. They do, however, point to a non-native speaker translator in cases where errors are

³ Common European Framework or Reference for Languages (CERF): A1/ A2 Basic User; B1/B2 Independent User; C1/C2 Proficient User

attributable to L1 interference, although a trained translator would normally be alert to these.

It is reasonable to assume that most unofficial translators will not have benefited from translation training, yet even some professional translators lack formal qualifications. With regard to professional credentials of university translators working in Germany, the findings point to varying levels of qualifications and experience. The majority of the questionnaire respondents (88%) report experience in higher education translation, and 72% with more than three years' experience. Nearly 70% have translated for a traditional *Universität*, and 51% for a *Fachhochschule*, and some also for other tertiary-level institutions as well (*Duale Hochschule, Kunst-/Musikhochschule, Technische Universität, Uniklinik*). A few (16%) have translated for universities outside Germany, the countries cited including the USA, France, the UK, the Russia(n) Federation, the Netherlands, Norway, Austria and Poland.

Many have experience in related areas, mostly technical (40%), financial/ commercial (38%), government and public policy (28%), and legal (26%), and academic or research publications in the fields of economics, natural sciences, humanities, and the social sciences. Other fields listed have a more tenuous link to higher education (wine trade, tourism, health and safety), but nevertheless indicate a breadth of experience.

Most of the questionnaire respondents are university graduates, holding at least one qualification in languages, linguistics or translation. Almost half have a degree in languages or linguistics (48%), and over a third in translation studies (36%). The respondents also include sworn or court-appointed translators (14%), state-approved translators (8%), and holders of a degree not directly related to languages or translation (cultural studies, business management, history, political and social science). Cross-tabulation of the data indicates that those with a degree in translation studies are more likely to have German as their native language, whereas the languages/linguistics graduates tend to be the native speakers of English.

Thus, most of those surveyed would meet the requirements of at least one of the three vacancies analysed as part of this investigation (APPENDIX M). The lowest paid vacancy (E9 on the German public sector salary scale⁴), specifies experience of a higher education environment only as being desirable, and there is no requirement for

⁴ *Tarifvertrag für den Öffentlichen Dienst der Länder (TV-L)*: German public sector salary scale, where E4 represents the lowest band and E13 the highest.

a university degree or formal qualification as a translator, only knowledge of German and English at native speaker level, or being a native speaker of one language and fluent in the other.

For the slightly better paid E10 vacancy, the candidate should have a university degree or equivalent as a (specialist) translator for English, plus several years' relevant experience as a translator and of working in higher education. Ideally, this person will also have knowledge of university administration and translation memory software, and experience of working in another country or international environment.

Unsurprisingly, the bar is set highest for the E13 position, where the candidate should have a university degree in translation studies (*Master/Diplom*) or relevant postgraduate degree in translation, professional experience in (international) higher education, knowledge of German and English at native-speaker level, knowledge of academic administration and university organisational structures, experience in project management, knowledge of relevant translation tools and software (TRADOS), and intercultural competence at general and academic levels. Ideally, this candidate will also be a licensed or sworn translator with knowledge of a second foreign language (French/Spanish).

Salary levels reported by those for whom translation is their primary role range from E10 to E13. As we have seen, it can be as low as E9. Of the 24 respondents who volunteered information about their salary level, nine earn the top rate of E13. Cross-tabulation suggests that the German native speakers are more likely to earn this top rate and have full-time translator jobs, possibly because they are also more likely to have a formal qualification in either translation or languages/linguistics.

With regard to occupational status, university translators with a salaried post tend to be on full-time but fixed-term contracts. These are typically limited to two years, although durations of seven months and four years are also indicated. So, while more full-time positions are available for professional translators with suitable credentials, there is little job security. Since many universities also outsource to external providers of translator services (agencies and freelancers), we can infer some lack of continuity from a 'revolving door' of translators. The implications are discussed in Chapter 7.

The findings also show that while universities apply strict selection criteria for the official translator positions at the higher end of the pay scale, when it comes to tendering for external translation work, quality is balanced against cost. In an invitation by one of the universities to tender for translation services (Universität Saarland, 2017), assessment of the offer is weighted 30% price and 70% quality. The invitation does not specify how quality or the credentials of the translator(s) are to be

demonstrated. This observation is certainly not to disparage external providers, who may provide an excellent service. However, evidence from the text analysis presented below confirms that a lack of familiarity with a university's defining characteristics results in misrepresentation.

Further attributes of translators that directly or indirectly affect the target texts include their beliefs, professional standards and values, the leeway or power with which they can assert their choices, and how they see their own role. These aspects are best understood in relation to the scope and nature of translation work in higher education, so are presented in the following section.

Overall, the findings confirm that various types of identity worker, not only those with official translation duties, are involved in transforming a university into a bilingual one, and that in Germany the role of university translator is rapidly becoming institutionalised. However, the demands of this role have yet to be fully acknowledged by university leaders. In a discussion about internationalisation that took place in 2013 between university translators, the following exchange stood out:

"It's a bit rich that [the University] hires one lone translator and some Hiwis⁵ and expects her to artificially respiration the entire University with the English language [...] there is a loooong way to go before any German universities can truly claim to be bilingual."

– *"At least you HAVE Hiwis! When I was hired in 2009, I asked at my interview what the exact nature of my responsibilities would be and they said, "to translate everything into English." I give my boss credit, however: she laughed as she said it."*

(Anon. (pers. comments), closed email discussion list, 2013)

This exchange, echoed in numerous other comments, encapsulates the feelings expressed by many university translators about the wildly unrealistic expectations placed upon them, while alluding to the solitary nature of translation and the folly of expecting a metamorphosis into a bilingual university without providing the necessary resources. Yet change is happening, as described in the following section.

⁵ Here, student assistant.

6.1.2 Scope and nature of translation work in higher education

Organisational units requiring translation services

As mentioned above, official translation positions are typically found in departments or units responsible for promoting the university: marketing, communications, strategy, and internationalisation. This is reflected in the job advertisements. The translator vacancy at the TU Dresden is located in the Office of Strategy and Communication, and at the Universität Jena in the International Office of the Central University Administration. The vacancy at the Universität Konstanz is for a *Referentin/Referenten für internationale Kommunikation* (assistant in international communication) to work in an organisational unit responsible for internal and external communication, marketing and fundraising (*Stabstelle Kommunikation und Marketing*). The duties are similar to those in the other posts, albeit narrower in scope.

The questionnaire results show that most demand for translation is from five areas in the organisation: 1. faculties, 2. international office, 3. marketing and communication, 4. admissions, and 5. university administration and management. Each area was identified by more than 70% of respondents, one of whom alludes to the level of pent-up demand: “Now they know we have a translation office... EVERYONE”.

Range of text types relating to organisational identity

The questionnaire results confirm that the direction of translation is usually German into English, although participants in the focus group also cited instances of translation into French and Chinese. Another described the scope of a translator’s work as being “everything and anything”, echoing the quote above.

The three job vacancies require the translator to work on a variety of texts, including webpages, applications, press releases, short academic texts, brochures leaflets (Konstanz), forms, circulars, communications from the rector’s office, regulations and guidelines (TU Dresden), and top-level administrative texts and documents (Jena).

This is supported by the questionnaire findings, which indicate that translated texts are mainly administrative documents for internal audiences and marketing materials for external audiences. The most commonly translated text types are forms (93%), intranet content (88%), applications (88%), warnings and reminders (87%), explanations and guidelines (85%), exam regulations and job advertisements (81%), press releases (79%), contracts (79%), marketing materials (78%), menus (77%), and texts for social media (53%). Further text types include ‘*Skripten*’ (course materials, presentation slides), exams, module descriptions, and certificates, all of which contain organisational language with some bearing on projections of identity.

Contributions to organisational development and representation

The work of a translator may include proofreading, editing and authoring. Most of the questionnaire respondents (80%) have proofread student theses/dissertations, and 41% have translated and proofread research articles. Several also write social media texts, press releases, website content, marketing materials, and guides. Due to a technical glitch, questionnaire respondents could only choose between one of three options (translate/ proofread/ author) for each item in Q33. This was pointed out in the comments, indicating that percentages for proofreading and authoring may be higher.

Comments from the email discussions suggest that some translators would embrace authorship or ‘transcreation’ roles. One writes “For years, we have encouraged the powers-that-be to consider moving away from strict translation to create original EN texts”, also noting that several other universities are gravitating towards original copy rather than strict translation. While her university plans to hire a part-time copywriter, she and her fellow translators feel they could handle challenge.

The findings show that a university translator’s work may extend to duties that contribute to the development and representation of the organisation. Various translators stress the importance of carrying out a preliminary needs analysis of requirements (See for example Schoenkaes, 2014). Many are involved in the project management and coordination of translation services, lexicography, advising on language matters, providing staff training, contributing to language policy, quality assurance, and raising awareness about appropriate ways of communicating with different types of stakeholder. This is further illustrated by the TU Dresden translator position, which involves “sensitising actors involved in communication in other areas of the organization about the need to apply international standards in the way the university represents itself to its external audiences, and where necessary to provide training” (TU Technische Universität Dresden, 2017, my translation).

The role of translators as explainers of other academic systems and traditions is a common theme in the findings. In the email discussions, there are several references about needing to enlighten colleagues about why the university’s current translation choice is meaningless or misleading. This aspect is discussed further in Chapter 7.

Translation management in its infancy

As indicated above, the administrative units responsible for translation management are typically marketing and communications, language services, and international affairs. Other units specified include the international affairs unit of the *Präsidialbüro* (president’s office), the rector’s office, and departments for academic and student

affairs, strategy and innovation, and a graduate school with which the translator has a contract. Three questionnaire respondents referred to a specific translation department, and one to “a translation team which is a subset of a team that is part of one of the administration departments”.

The consensus is that translation management is lacking. Fewer than half of the questionnaire respondents report that translation is project-managed (47%), and only 37% identify a process of proofreading and correcting. Even fewer (28%) report that their university has a clearly defined process of translation (work-flow), and just 26% agree that their university supports its translators’ professional development.

Thus, it is hardly surprising that the dominant theme at conferences for university translators is not language, but translation management. Conference topics include needs analysis, coordination with internal and external providers, work-flow processes, quality assurance, terminology management, and technology.

Findings from the job vacancies and the questionnaire confirm increased reliance on technology. Half the questionnaire respondents report that they use computer-assisted translation (CAT) tools, with 55% using translation memory software, and 45% using terminology and content management systems for webpages. Managing terminology databases makes up 40-50% of one respondent’s work.

The CAT tool vendors include SDL Trados, MetaTaxis and memoQ (translation memory software), Typo3 and Drupal (for web content management) and the terminology management tool SLD MultiTerm. One respondent reports that the university uses a tailored content management system, and another that they are “desperately trying to get a TMS”⁶ for the campus. Arguably, the growing use of translation technology that depends on pooling terminology databases is likely to contribute to standardisation across the sector.

Inefficiencies in higher education translation

The focus group participants with freelance experience agreed that working for a university is more challenging than working for agencies or other types of client, even if some conditions are better. Rather than dealing with just one contact person who manages the process and makes the final decisions, they have to deal with various

⁶ The abbreviation TMS can stand for “translation memory software” or “terminology management system”, where the latter may be used as a stand-alone tool or be incorporated into the former.

people, depending on who needs the translation. Since many of these contacts work part-time, translators need to wait longer for a response.

Furthermore, translation for universities can be subjected to numerous rounds of revisions. While this might improve the quality, it slows down the process. Ideally, translations should be “read through once, corrected once”. It was further noted that translators’ choices are more likely to be challenged in universities, possibly because of the relatively high proportion of staff with international experience and regular contact in English. On the other hand, ‘important’ terminology was usually set by higher authorities who are not linguists, thus raising scope for error.

Finally, it was observed that competition associated with internationalisation adds pressure to produce English-language websites quickly. In such cases, speed and cost were the main considerations, with less attention paid to quality.

For the questionnaire respondents, the main challenges for translators include lack of recognition and status (22%), job insecurity, and lack of management support (both 18%). Cross-tabulation indicates that the native speakers of English worry more about job insecurity, while the native speakers of German are more concerned about lack of management support – possibly because the latter tend to occupy the salaried posts. Further comments draw attention to the challenges of meeting high expectations with limited support (“Lack of sufficient resources in light of the tasks the university management would ideally like done”, “Sheer quantity and lack of technological support”, “Translation memory is in my head, although I’m gently campaigning for a TMS to be acquired”, and “There is, perhaps understandably, a lack of appreciation of the complexities of translation”. Finally, one respondent notes that it is “difficult to convince management of the need move away from direct translation and do more editorial work”, a comment that again alludes to the need for ‘transcreation’.

Conference presenters frequently complain that university administrators fail to appreciate the complexity of translation and languages. The mistaken assumption that “everyone can speak English” contributes to the terminological anarchy that could be avoided with detailed guidelines and clear communication “from above” (See for example Grünewald, 2017, p. 11). One presenter divulged that her university devoted a one-day conference (*Tagung*) to the translation of ‘*Fakultät*’, without coming to a decision.

None of the job advertisements refer to fringe benefits or perks that might attract applicants. Instead, they allude to challenges, for example by requiring a translator who is flexible, able to multi-task, meet strict deadlines, and work under pressure.

6.1.3 Professional values and standards of university translators

Status, power and influence in identity negotiations

A decision about which model of English to use, or how to translate a high-stakes term relating to organisational identity, may be subject to negotiation. How translators deal with this depends on their professional values and standards, and their status in the organisation.

Participants in the focus group generally agree that translators have the final say in disagreements about terminology, a view shared by 61% of the questionnaire respondents. Yet much depends on the weight of the translation. While the translator may make recommendations, “power relations” and “hierarchy” determine who has the last word. In one respondent’s experience, senior members of staff might discuss a translator’s choice, only to overrule it.

When it comes to the crunch, translators are usually willing to compromise (“We can’t force people to use a certain terminology, but after discussion we usually reach a consensus”, “I try to find amicable compromises as much as possible”). Ultimately, compromises boil down to expedience. One respondent writes: “We try to avoid complete catastrophes but our resources are limited, so we do let some things go through to the keeper”. Another respondent wonders whether some authors ‘correct’ the translation themselves rather than discuss it with the translator.

Translators are prepared to defend their choices where they are confident they have the authority. One explains, “I naturally seek a consensus. If the conflict is linguistic, I will insist. If it is a *Fachbegriff* [specialist term], I am happy to be led by the experts in the faculty in question”. Another writes “I’m the translator, but I don’t put up a big fight... An exception is “PhD student/programs”, which I refuse to use for legal reasons and go to great lengths to explain to people”.

Views on standardisation of HE terminology

Much of a university translator’s job involves developing German-English terminology lists for staff and external translators. Since these lists are usually non-binding, usage remains inconsistent within the organisation and across the sector. Many translators find this frustrating. In an online discussion on how to translate the terms *Urkunde* and *Zeugnis*, one translator expresses bafflement that, in spite of the Bologna reforms, translations of such common phrases differ throughout Germany.

Two-thirds of questionnaire respondents (64%) would like to see standardised terminology for higher education in Germany, with a quarter (25%) against, the rest

showing no preference. Those in favour argue that it would “simplify work” or “make life easier” for the translator, and also facilitate mobility of students, teachers and staff across the German higher education sector where “things are regulated on a federal state or even nationwide level”. Another explains that it would “make the German academic system more accessible to foreign audiences”.

Several respondents oppose standardisation on feasibility grounds (“It would never work!”). Some argue that while it might seem desirable to try to bridge the “AE/BE gap”, it would be impracticable for political or linguistic reasons. Another considers it pointless given that the terminology is not standardised in German either.

“Just look at all the different terms for different types of classes, modules, projects, etc. in the various Studienordnungen [study regulations]. I think that battling for standardization would be futile. Also, the realities at universities develop over time; so should the terminology”. (Questionnaire comment, 2017)

Importantly, standardised terminology could frustrate institutional differentiation (“...we are competitors after all”), and would probably be resisted anyway by universities that have already forged ahead with their corporate identity language:

“Different universities have been working on their own terminology for some time now with many different strategies, meaning that standardisation would be incredibly difficult due to the (justified) reluctance of those with established terminology that differs from the new standardised terms to change”. (Questionnaire comment, 2017)

One respondent worries that efforts towards sector-wide standardisation could be counterproductive (“Each researcher has a different opinion about nearly everything. It would just make things worse to standardise”). Another asserts that materials produced at the supra-university level are “not very good”, and that non-binding standards are in any case of little value:

“In essence, something decided by a board of German native speakers will always come up with a sub-optimal result (e.g. Diploma Supplement). Best to leave some leeway. Apart from that, it will be difficult to enforce any standard, so if it becomes binding it won’t be much benefit to anyone”. (Questionnaire comment, 2017)

Cross-tabulation of the findings suggests that that the drive for standardisation is more likely to come from translators with a German-speaking background (73% vs. 53%).

The implications of these findings are discussed in Chapter 7.

Preferences regarding models of English

One online discussion between translators centred on which model of English is preferred by German universities, where the choice boils down to American English (AE) or British English (BE). The universities mentioned are evenly split, with eight favouring AE (Hamburg, Mannheim, Tübingen, Freiburg, RWTH Aachen, Freie Universität Berlin, and the Karlsruhe Institute of Technology), and eight favouring BE (Konstanz, Hannover, Passau, Nürnberg, Münster, Hohenheim and Flensburg). Most added caveats, for example that the choice depends on the situation or purpose of the translation, or that the official standard is “international English” with either AE or BE orthography.

The questionnaire results suggest that German universities are more likely to choose BE than AE (52%/41%), reflecting translators’ own preferences (58%/40%). Yet the results also indicate that German universities are more likely to want to build on American than British academic traditions. Thus, the preference for BE, which could simply be due to how Germans are taught English at school, may conflict with institutional or academic needs. One translator finds it helps to be flexible (“I prefer British English but scientific work is usually in American English”).

From the online discussion, several patterns can be identified that help to explain why universities favour a particular model of English. The first relates to history or path dependency, meaning that once a decision has been taken, things stay that way through increasing returns and inertia (Pierson, 2000). One translator attributes the university’s preference for AE to the founding history of the university and its connections to North American universities and other institutions, which means that (American) labels are retained. In a similar vein, another states “I am most familiar with AmE and most of the material on campus was in AmE when I began”.

The personal whims of university leaders may determine in the initial choice of model, after which inertia sets in. One translator writes: “The new President is more americanophone and decided that [we] will be an AE Uni”. Others allude to decisions passed down from above with no explanation or rationale: “Our presidents decided to use American English [which] was communicated to our Translation Service”; “There is no official, not even an unofficial language policy at my uni; when I began working here I was told that uni management had made a decision to use BrE years ago, so I stick with it”; “The Rektorat made the decision to use it in 2014 because that was the preference of the Rektorat’s members at that time”.

The choice may also be determined by strategic alliances and competitive pressures. Where partnerships have been forged between universities, AE may be used “to

appeal to the university's American partners", and BE where "the university has stronger ties with UK HEIs". Several contributors to the online discussion note that while they are generally expected to use AE, exceptions are made for research proposals and funding applications. Funding bodies cited that prefer BE include the *Helmholtz-Gemeinschaft deutscher Forschungszentren* (Helmholtz Association of German Research Centres) and the *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft* (DFG/ German Research Foundation). One contributor asserts that research proposals for the Research Framework Programme of the European Union have to be written in BE because the United Kingdom is (currently) a member. Reference is also made to the need for BE in connection with the *Exzellenzinitiative*, although this is contradicted by another respondent who explains that "everything to do with the Excellence Initiative, however, should be in American English. (Don't ask me why...)". Sample applications provided by the DFG are in BE, but AE is also accepted (DFG, 2017, p. 4). Again with reference to funding, one translator explains that the choice depends on where the money comes from, the final decision being made by the presidents.

The Bologna process and a sense of European identity also emerge as factors in the outcome. A contributor to the online discussion notes that even though AE is prescribed by her university, BE spelling or terminology is used with reference to issues connected to Bologna and the EU, and for DFG and other funding institutions or programmes active in Germany. Her recommendation is to go for BE, unless the institution has a particular connection to the American system. In a similar vein, another contributor explains: "We're a European university, and while we do have partners in the U.S., historically Europe and Britain/Ireland play an important role".

One contributor to this discussion challenges the BE/AE distinction ("Does Brazilian English count as American? Is it OK if I drop in the odd Scots expression?"), and argues that the choice of variant should be based on the translator's own background and, more importantly, the higher education system with which the German university wants to align itself with.

The questionnaire responses suggest that most universities have a policy, whether official (55%), unofficial (16%), or simply "because the university wanted this" (7%). Only three respondents selected "It's what I'm most familiar with" as a reason for choosing AE/BE. Cross-tabulation indicates that native speakers of German are more likely than native speakers of English to use BE (53%/40%), which correlates with the finding that the former are more likely to work for a university where BE is prescribed (74%/33%).

The responses indicate that university translators need to be able to switch flexibly between variants/models of English. A contributor to the online discussion goes

further by advocating “neutral” or “international” English for the benefit of non-native speakers from different parts of the world: “Overall we try to avoid anything too British or too American where we can, especially when we’re creating documents for students who are not native speakers of English”. However, the notion that ‘international’ English would solve the AE/BE dilemma is challenged by one of the American translators, who argues that it is neither practicable nor desirable:

“The question I raise about “international English” is what, exactly, this is supposed to be. I really wonder if it’s possible to make something internationally comprehensible in a single language by introducing clumsy, unwieldy, terms and phrases no native speaker would actually use in daily speech... and how can any of us know, really, whether the terms we come up with are equally clear to a Chinese speaker of English and a Norwegian speaker of English? Of course, we could see higher education as an increasingly uniform “culture” of its own with its own terminology and thus introduce terms that are going to be recognisable to anyone familiar with tertiary education or academia, but for all kinds of reasons, that makes me wince”. (Garron, 30 May 2016)

The risk of impoverishing language through standardisation and the notion of a higher education developing a uniform culture of its own are discussed in Chapter 7 below.

Translators’ influence on the projected image of the university

In order to understand why universities might look different in translation, it is useful to consider translators’ views, as elicited by the questionnaire.

Two themes emerge from their comments: The first concerns the reputational damage resulting from a lack of attention to quality, which could be remedied by more translator positions and the “streamlining” of terminology. For example, one respondent writes “The quality of the English-language texts produced by different actors varies, to put it nicely. The scope and reach of the central translation service is still quite low – mostly due to understaffing”. Another describes the translated image of the university as “more confused – no clear identity, but something vaguely international”. There is also the problem of untranslatableables (“In German we build our marketing on the term Exzellenz universität ... this gets lost in translation imho”).

Comments in the second group concern the university’s public persona. Several comments allude to aspects of formality (“Less formal, perhaps”, “Probably a little more approachable”, “It appears friendlier, more contemporary and more akin to large-scale higher education institutions in English”, “Hopefully less rigid and more interesting in English!”). Implicit in these comments is criticism of what is perceived

as a somewhat rigid, forbidding and old-fashioned image. Some comments are more explicit, for example about the prolixity of German source texts: “Our translations always aim to be clear and concise, pared down where necessary – unlike the German source texts are. So, you might say, that we ensure a sleeker image for the university with less information clutter and obtuseness to confound the poor reader”.

The implication is that some translators see it as part of their job to remedy deficits in how German universities come across, and to present them in a more favourable light. Thus, in an unsolicited and invisible way, they contribute to *Profilbildung*.

Resistance to translation choices

The questionnaire results indicate that translators experience some organisational resistance to their translators’ choices (57%), often resulting in “Denglish”⁷. One respondent complains that “sometimes less fitting translations will be kept out of ‘tradition’ or habit, or because it sounds better to the non-native speaker ear”. Another believes that the target audience is actually German, so “wouldn’t understand the subtleties of “real English!””. A third adds that, due to “increasing denglicisation”, translators “spend a lot of time providing arguments about why suggestions do not work idiomatically, stylistically or grammatically. Or are just plain ridiculous for English-speakers”. Resistance is also attributed to status issues rather than language.

Cross-tabulation of responses indicates that translators’ experience of resistance varies according to their linguistic background: The native speakers of English are more likely than the German speakers to have their translation choices challenged (73% /53%) and to encounter resistance to the growing use of English (53%/42%), although they more likely to find that their view prevails (72%/52%). This paradox is discussed in Chapter 7 below.

The role of networks in promoting standards and standardisation

Most of the questionnaire respondents (82%) belong to a professional association or network of translators: 64% to the *Netzwerk Hochschulübersetzer/innen*, 24% to the BDÜ (Federal Association of Translators and Interpreters). Various other associations are also listed, including include BaySeV.

⁷ **Denglish:** portmanteau word (Deutsch + English) that refers to something other than its original meaning

The greatest benefit that respondents see in belonging to a network of university translators is “developing professional standards and practices for higher education translation management” (36%), “sharing best practice with regard to translation management” (23%), and having a “discussion forum for dealing with tricky translations” (14%). Further examples include support with tricky translations, and developing consistency in higher education terminology. One respondent sees a network as a means through which translators can develop a common standard for “academic language” to ensure that German terminology is more uniformly translated, noting that when new fees were introduced for international students, each university had to produce its own translation of standard documents rather than being able to turn to a central resource.

Thus, a network can provide support, raise standards, and promote standardisation, even if, as Garron (2016) argues, standardisation does not necessarily raise standards.

6.2 Language shift and distorting effects of translation

This section shifts the focus from the actors to the texts. It presents the findings from the comparative text analysis and the interpretation of linguistic symbols, where the aim was to collect data about the nature of Anglicisation and the potential of translation to inadvertently distort an organisation’s self-representation (RQ2).

The first half presents data on the nature and direction of Anglicisation, as manifested in the use of Anglicisms in German webpages, the preference for BE/AE in English webpages, and the adoption of a ritual associated with English-speaking universities.

The second half deals with the processes and outcomes of translation. It begins with the questionnaire findings about institutional policies on website translation, followed by comparative text analysis. In doing so, it identifies stages of development in website translation, and degrees of Anglicisation and localisation.

6.2.1 *Anglicisation in German webpages*

In order to gauge the extent of Anglicisation in German higher education discourse, selected German webpages were scanned for English loan words. Table 6.2 below lists examples of terminology related to higher education. Since many are also listed in the *Anglizismen-Index* (Verein Deutsche Sprache, 2017), I have grouped them according to their respective classifications (Types 1- 3) while adding two further groups. The first consists of Anglicisms found elsewhere on the website relating to higher education and identified by the VDS as Type 3, and the second Anglicisms not listed in the Index, but found in the selected German webpages.

Table 6.2 – Anglicisms in German HE discourse (examples from webpages)

Anglicism Type	Examples from German university webpages
Type 1 – Assimilated into German (<i>Ergänzungen</i>)	audit, management, marketing, team, test
Type 2 – Translation warranted due to different connotations (<i>Differenzierung</i>)	Bachelor of Arts (BA), Bachelor of Science (BSc), bridging (funds), <i>Exzellenzcluster</i> , (career) centre (BE), center (AE), cluster, consulting, controlling, corporate identity, e-learning (eLearning), Master of Arts (MA), Master of Science (MSc)
⁸ Type 3 – Encroaching on German (<i>Verdrängungen</i>)	academy, administration, (self-) assessment, campus, career service, cluster, coaching, core facilities, corporate design, corporate governance, credit points, development (Learning and Development), diversity, dual career, education, funds, gender (as in <i>Genderkodex</i>), job ticket, keynote speaker, keynote speech, know-how, learning, mission, open access (policy), ranking, research, “Save the date!”, science, school, summer school, shop (as in <i>Unishop</i>), staff, technology, transfer (Technology Transfer), thesis, university
Also: Included in the Index as Type 3, and found elsewhere in selected websites	blended learning, call for papers, corporate university, FAQ, image, intellectual property, learning-by-doing, lecture, lecturer, multiple-choice test, panel discussion, PhD, sabbatical, webinar
Also: Not listed in the Index, but found in the webpages selected for analysis	academic staff development, Digital Humanities, early career researchers, executive education, graduate (school), (innovation) grant, open enrolment, outreach activities, Postdoc, self-assessment, third mission, website relaunch

As the table shows, most of the Anglicisms are of Type 3. For those listed in the *Anglizismen-Index*, an equivalent is offered, for example *Verwaltung* (administration), *Forschung* (research), and *Universität* (university).

Some Type 2 examples may seem obvious, such as ‘Bachelor of Arts’ (an outcome of the Bologna process), although arguably a German term could have been chosen to replace the former ‘*Diplom*’. Several denote concepts or practices originating outside Germany (campus, ranking, blended learning), and some are better known in America, for example ‘dual career’ to refer to an academic couple working in the same university, and where it is not unusual for institutions to offer a job to the partner of someone they hope to recruit (Walters, 2010). ‘Career centre’ is an example









of Denglish, referring not to careers advice but to extra-curricular courses for developing professional and communication skills.


The analysis confirms that university jargon associated with English-speaking countries is indeed percolating into German higher education discourse, and that there is some blurring of languages, as illustrated by the Denglish examples. Some terms require no translation or explanation, whether others such as ‘career centre’ are ambiguous and potentially misleading.

6.2.2 Direction of Anglicisation – AE/BE or something else?

Findings from the website analysis regarding the use of AE/BE are presented in Table 6.3 below. For each website, it shows the icon used for the link to the English page, and examples of AE/BE usage.

Table 6.3 – Use of BE/AE in selected university websites

University and icon	Examples from websites
Goethe-Universität Frankfurt 	Mainly BE, but some AE, e.g. date formats (February 6 th 2018); Spelling generally BE, but some exceptions, e.g. AE in information for ‘outgoings’ about Erasmus
Frankfurt University of Applied Sciences 	Mainly AE in spelling (program, center), but some faculty webpages use BE spellings (programme, labour) and German date formats (24. April); AE terminology, e.g. use of ‘academics’ to refer to study
Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg 	Mainly AE spelling (catalog, center, programs, counselling), but some inconsistencies, e.g. Language Teaching Centre/Center (Student Portal)
Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen 	Mainly AE spelling: welcome Center, programs, summarize Some BE spellings: organisation, counselling, programme, online course catalogue
Universität Konstanz  EN	Explicit preference for BE stated on the website. “We generally use British English” (Universität Konstanz, 2016). British spellings: programmes, centre, organisation
Universität Hamburg 	Consistently AE (program, organize, ‘auditing student’, instructor, ‘scholar’); Glossary AE, based on Merriam-Webster and The Chicago Manual of Style (Universität Hamburg, 2018)
Universität Mannheim DE / 	AE (academics as the translation of ‘Studium’, AE spellings, e.g. program); Downloads and some webpages using B
Duale Hochschule Baden- Württemberg DEUTSCH / 	Mixture of BE/AE (center / centre) throughout; also ‘programmes’ and ‘programs’ on the same page

Universität Saarland  Deutsch English Français	Mainly BE spellings (programme, centre) but some inconsistencies (organise/organize).
Hochschule Furtwangen University English : Kontakte	Mainly BE (programme, 1 March)

The website analysis reveals a fairly even split between BE/AE, in contrast to the questionnaire findings that suggest a BE bias. Three websites show a clear preference: Konstanz for BE, and Hamburg and Mannheim for AE. Of the rest, three are ‘mainly BE’, three ‘mainly AE’, and one with both. Inconsistencies are found throughout.

The icons are not reliable indicators as to the model of English. For example, the website of the Universität Tübingen has a Union Jack icon despite frequent AE usage. However, the icon may have been chosen by a web designer rather than a translator.

Some universities have a more distinctly American stamp. For example, both Mannheim and FAS’s translate “*Studium*” as “academics”. The most American looking university, FAS, refers to both “freshers” and “freshmen” in its information for ‘outgoings’. Nevertheless, inconsistencies in usage suggest different translators.

By prescribing a particular model of English, translation can display or reinforce a bias towards a particular culture or university system. However, even where universities have an explicit BE/AE policy (Konstanz, Hamburg), the choice does not significantly affect how the university comes across. The potential is there, but no strong conclusions can be drawn about the direction of the shift.

6.2.3 *Anglicisation in linguistic landscapes and rituals*

Eight of the images in APPENDIX N show posters photographed at two university campuses on one day, as examples of a university’s linguistic (or linguacultural) landscape of signs, symbols and rituals. One poster advertises a Master’s level degree in ‘Business Management – Accounting and Controlling’, a degree taught exclusively in German, but with a mixture of English and Denglish in its title (‘Controlling’ for Management Accounting). The sign “Nobody Surrounds”, advertising earplugs for use in libraries, assumes a reader proficient enough in English to understand the pun.

Such ‘sightings’ illustrate how English pervades campus life as in other spheres and how English is changing, but do not constitute evidence of distortions of meaning. Indeed, some people might not recognise certain words as English rather than

German. The ninth photo, taken in 2013, shows Master's graduates in academic attire (cap and gown) during a *Fachhochschule* graduation ceremony.

This custom has since been adopted at the DHBW VS, including the ritual of throwing the hats into the air. The eleven interviews conducted on this topic reveal a range of interpretations as to why and how it was introduced, and ambivalence in the responses. A list of interviewees (pseudonyms), their roles in the organisation, and sampled of the transcripts are provided in APPENDIX Q.

In line with Üing's interpretation (2005), most interviewees assumed the tradition originated in America, although the two English lecturers also mentioned Oxford and Cambridge. Several attributed the adoption of the custom in Germany with the introduction of Bachelor's and Master's degrees, linking this to Anglo-Saxon culture and the way that achievement is celebrated. The International Officer noted that uniforms have ceased to carry negative connotations in Germany, and that the hosting of the FIFA World Cup in 2006 made it less of a taboo for young Germans to show patriotism and, by extension, pride in their university.

A significant finding is that the change at the DHBW VS was student-led, with no encouragement or involvement from the administration or faculty. Indeed, when shown the 2012 photo of five graduates wearing mortarboards, one of the English lecturers identified the very individual who instigated the change. His anecdote about this charismatic student is quoted at length here because it counters the conventional belief that organisational rituals are managed from above (Gallup, 2014). It also points to the influence of American academic culture on the one hand, and the role of informal leaders (Alvesson and Deetz, 2000, p. 53) on the other.

“And I specifically remember these guys.... And it was the first time that we saw the mortarboard and the cape being worn. And in that year there were only five of them that did it, they were the only five, they had organised it and I remember who organised it... it was this chap here. [He] was always a student who... he was fantastic, he was always there, he worked for one of the big four accountancy companies up in Berlin, he was a Berlin lad and his English was very very fluent from day one. [...] He was never disruptive, he was always still, contributing, discussing, helping other students. Sometimes a little bit cocky, but it was part of his character, he was that kind of guy and he could get away with it. And he was a brilliant student, and I'm guessing, I'm pretty sure that it was his innovation [...] like I said earlier his English was fantastic because he'd lived... I think his father had worked, and he had lived as a young boy, in America. And I think that he had probably been quite influenced by the American university system, and the idea of that finale photograph where all the mortarboards are

thrown up in the sky [...] I'd imagine that this individual was very influenced by the American idea of what happens, you've done the hard work and let's really celebrate today, and that being the dress it gives it that formal idea. And so I think it was really his input from his Americanisation as a younger student [...]. And because he was also influential, and managed to get the others behind him... [...] He was a leader in that group, you can definitely see it...".

Most interviewees point to the influence of American culture, as projected in film and TV. One professor attributed the new enthusiasm for academic dress to the contemporary "event culture", where any occasion offers an excuse to wear fancy dress and get drunk. He drew parallels with young women wearing dirndls at the Oktoberfest, saying this would have been unheard of ten or fifteen years ago. In his view, this reflects a growing desire amongst young people to express themselves through rituals and symbols, and celebrate their achievements in a more festive way.

The second English lecturer has taught at a German university where the cap-and-gown tradition was introduced in 2013 for its (new) MBA students, and where there was "a real appetite amongst the student body to go through these rather formal ceremonies". He observes that in America "they really go in for this kind of ceremonial aspect of academia", and explains the appeal to German universities and the newer UK universities as follows:

"If I look at the UK situation, a lot of the new universities are in a state of catch-up with the more traditional ones like Oxford and Cambridge, and I think they see it as part of their drive to become more validated, more valued by potential customers to actually offer the whole package. And you're seeing that a lot more in the newer UK universities just as you're seeing it in Germany."

This interpretation be understood in terms of mimetic isomorphism, the drive for legitimacy, and the commodification of higher education with students positioned as consumers.

All interviewees expressed ambivalence about the custom. The administrators regretted what they perceive as a loss of individuality, with one describing it as "*diese Gleichmacherei*" (wanting to standardise everything), adding that she and her colleagues "don't like this change, because Germany is Germany, and we don't need to copy everything that other countries do". German students are attracted by the American "college look" and tell her "we want to do it the way they do it in America". Another administrator recalled pre-Bologna ceremonies that awarded the *Diplom*. In her view, the status of the Bachelor's degree has been undermined by the Master's, so fewer students bother to attend the ceremony.

The Social Work professor also spoke disapprovingly of the desire amongst some students to adopt American traditions, but qualified this by saying that academic regalia lends a greater sense of ceremony to the occasion. The most positive view was expressed by the President's assistant, who argued that the regalia was fitting for an event that celebrates achievement, setting it apart from other formal occasions, and with symbolic gesture of tossing the hat into the air marking a rite of passage.

The most critical view came from a professor who dismissed the event as a sideshow (*"Nebenkriegsschauplatz"*), asserting that English-style graduation ceremonies bear little relation to academic success. He rarely attends, and ascribed the new cap-and-gown custom to peer pressure ("someone had the idea and the others didn't resist"), administrative reforms and "the changes in degrees".

None of the faculty members would countenance wearing the regalia themselves. One recalled the 1968 student reform movement mentioned above, and its slogan *"Unter den Talaren, Muff der Tausend Jahren"* ("Under the gowns, the fug of 1000 years"). Having "dusted off" the past, reviving the tradition would be going too far in his view ("Germany has got over all that").

It appears that not all students approve of the tradition either. According to the Social Work professor, the topic was hotly debated amongst her students, some taking the view that it is "bad enough that we have to do these stupid bachelor's degrees", and that "we should stick to our own traditions and not copy them from America". Asked why social work students were more likely than others to oppose the custom, she speculates that they are more socially aware and therefore more suspicious of cultural appropriation. She also points to the influence of other faculty members who set little store by the graduation ceremony due to its elitist associations.

The American intern was surprised to learn that German students had only recently adopted the custom. When comparing the photos, however, she commented that students look more adult and professional when dressed individually, which in her view was more appropriate for the DHBW VS.

"... you have your suit and tie and you're adult and you're not being told what to wear and you're not being given... I mean there's obviously a dress code, but you're not given specific items to wear. They're given more independence [...] they've all gone on their own route with this school. Like they've all worked at different places during the three-month periods that they're not at school so like, they have such individual routes that they've taken..."

The adoption of the cap-and-gown tradition can thus be seen as an example of academic drift as well as Anglicisation, an aspect discussed further in Chapter 7.

Finally, the interviewees express uncertainty about what to call the individual garments. None of the German-speakers knew the English terms, and most were unsure about the German. This is indicative of how symbolic change precedes the language used to describe it.

6.2.4 Institutional policy on website translation

The way an organisation represents itself in a second language begins with editorial decisions about what should be translated, and what content should be added that is absent in the source text. One might expect such decisions to be the prerogative of senior managers responsible for profiling and positioning, but the questionnaire findings reveal that editorial policies for web pages vary widely, if they exist at all, allowing translators considerable leeway in choices relating to aspects of identity.

For example, 30% of respondents report a policy of translating all web pages into English, 34% a policy of only translating web pages relevant to the audience, and 36% no policy at all. The comments reveal further permutations. One respondent explains that the current aim is to “mirror the German site”. Others describe more ad hoc approaches (“Some pages are translated, and some aren’t. It seems random.” / “...only those pages relevant get translated and some pages only exist in English”). Generally, the comments indicate a lack of policy. One respondent complains that there is no “coherent strategy university-wide for English content”.

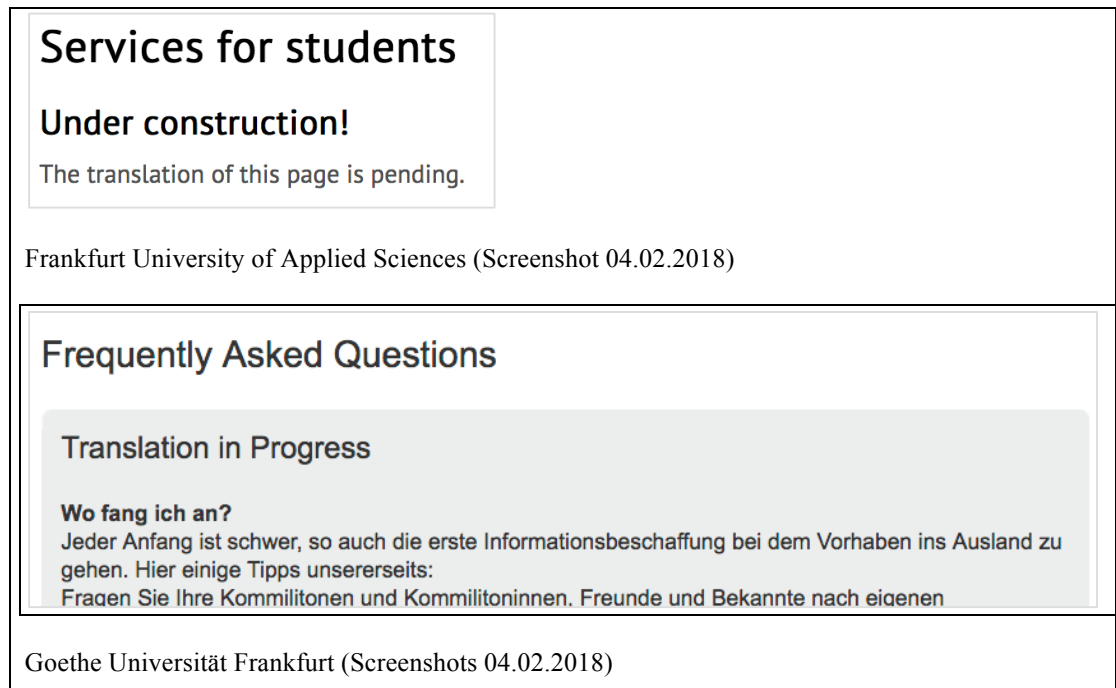
Where policies exist, there are caveats (“There are always exceptions, especially if web pages consist of excerpts from various laws” / “For programmes taught in German only, information will be provided in the form of a summary/abstract” / “Sometimes a note is included that the content is only relevant to native speakers”). Further comments allude to the immensity of the task (“That’s the goal...but we are far away from reaching that”).

6.2.5 Website translation as identity construction

My comparison of German web pages with their English equivalents confirms that translating a website, or indeed a university, can only ever be work-in-progress. This section shows web pages at various stages of completion, each illustrating a different type of distortion that could have been prevented by translation management.

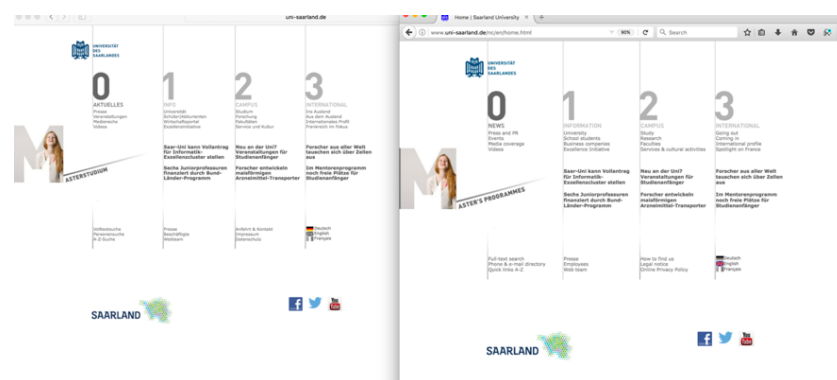
The first stage hints that a translation is in the pipeline, either directing the reader to an error message, or to a page stating that the English translation is “pending” or “under construction”, as illustrated in Figure 6.1 below.

Figure 6.1 – Translation pending



A further example of an early stage in translation is shown in Figure 6.2, where the links and headings of a ‘Welcome page’ are in English, but the content is in German.

Figure 6.2 – Navigation in English, content in German

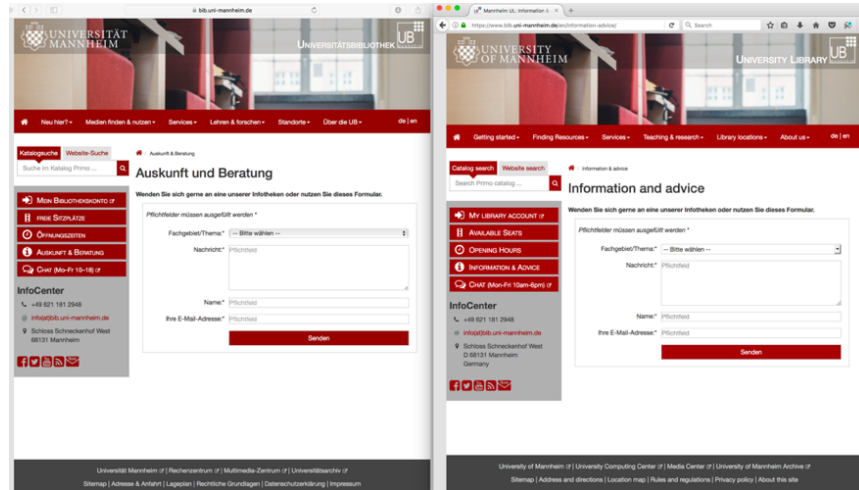


Universität Saarland
(Screenshots 2017)

This is a university that aspires to be trilingual but has only recently begun to translate its website. Just a few pages have been translated into English, one listing tuition fees.

Even in extensively translated websites, there are pages where the navigation links and text headings are in English, but the main content is in German. We see this in Figure 6.3 below, where the form for reserving library books has yet to be translated.

Figure 6.3 – Headings in English, online form in German

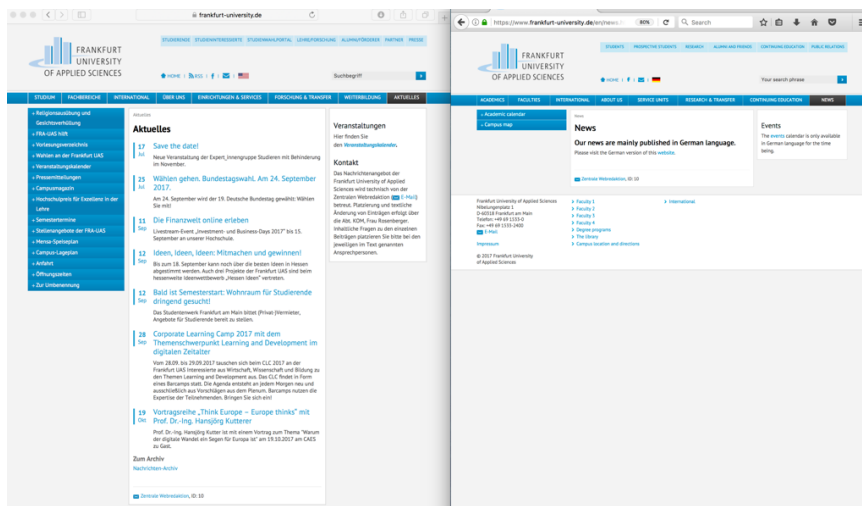


Universität
Mannheim
(Screenshots 2017)

It could be that translating forms is low on the list of priorities, or that the German is retained to ensure the form is understood by the librarian.

Several websites had pages where translations had been attempted, but not to an acceptable standard. An example is shown below in Figure 6.4.

Figure 6.4 – Gaps and errors in translation



Frankfurt University
of Applied Sciences
(Screenshots 2017)

Here, there are gaps and language errors, some due to interference from German. The German News page (*Aktuelles*) on the left features news items and announcements, whereas the English version on the right simply states “Our news are [sic] mainly published in German language [sic]. Please visit the German version of this website”.

Figure 6.5 shows examples of basic language errors in one university website.

Figure 6.5 – Spot the mistake

Do you have family responsibilities? The [offerings of the Family Office](#) may be also of interest for you.

Our news are mainly published in German language.
Please visit the German version of this [website](#).

We are looking forward to be active for you!

Degree or Exchange Program?

These informations are currently only available in German.
[Central Students Advicce Office](#)

The International Office is your partner for international projects. Wether you are looking for a study abroad opportunity or planing an intership we are her to

Undergradual Bachelor programme

[Preparing your stay \(visa, jobs, accomodation\)](#)

The Frankfurt UAS has successfully developed exchanges programmes outside Europe too!
[Nord America](#)

For most of exchange places are tuition free! However you might need help in order to finacne your stay abrad - find here information about scholarships

Adress

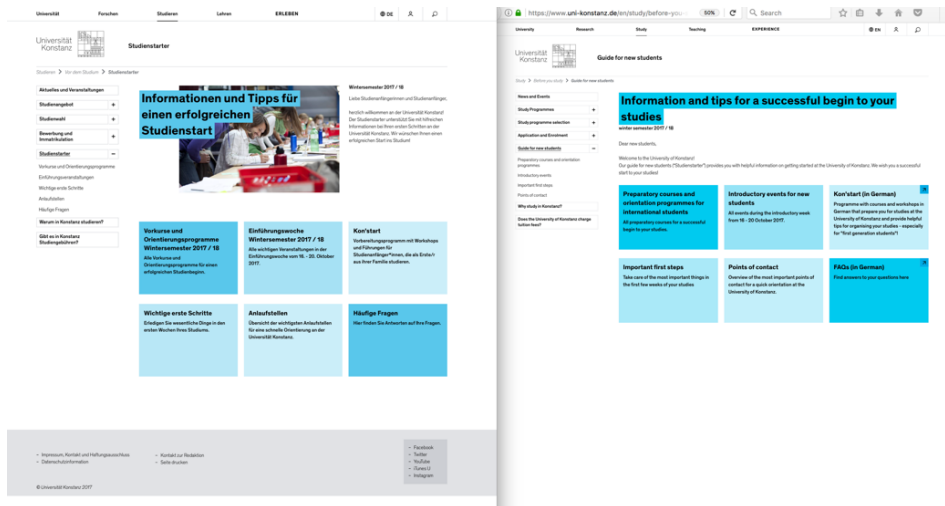
Frankfurt University of Applied Sciences (2017), Screenshots 04.02.2017

Not all errors would be recognised as such by non-native speakers. ‘Information’ and ‘news’, for instance, are treated here as countable nouns, which is characteristic of some European languages. ‘Accomodation’ is a common native-speaker misspelling. Errors suggesting sloppiness, time-pressure (...finacne, advicce undergradual, planing an intership), or beginner-level English, are more likely to be recognised as such by non-native speakers with proficient English. Of course, these errors may well have been corrected since the screenshots were taken.

Language errors were found in all the websites analysed, and variations in the standard of English across individual sites suggest different authors. The implications are discussed in Chapter 7 in connection with *Profilbildung* and reader expectations.

A further example of work-in-progress is where much of the text is in English, but downloads are in German. This is shown in Figure 6.6 below.

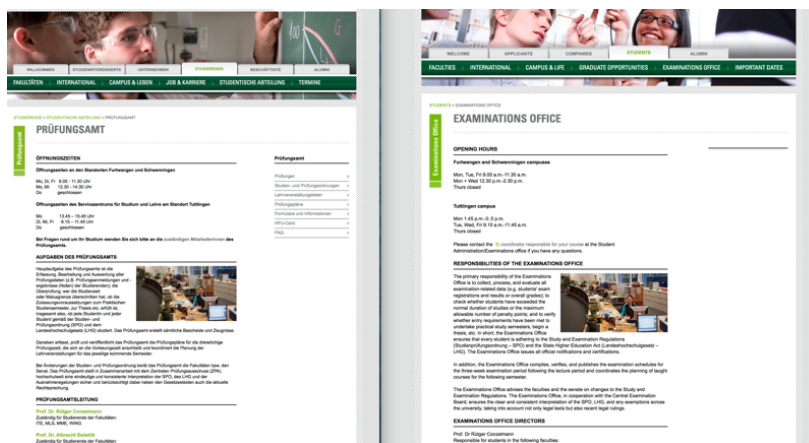
Figure 6.6 – Web page in English, downloads in German



Universität
Konstanz
(2017)

In matters relating to examinations and assessment, the English pages tend to be less detailed, and in many cases there is no English version of the exam regulations. The German and English pages shown below in Figure 6.7 contain information from the university's Examinations Office. While they appear superficially similar, links to crucial information about examinations (regulations, timetables, course listings, FAQs) are absent in the English version. Furthermore, while an English version of the study and examination regulations is provided, only the German is legally binding.

Figure 6.7 – Superficially similar, lacking key information

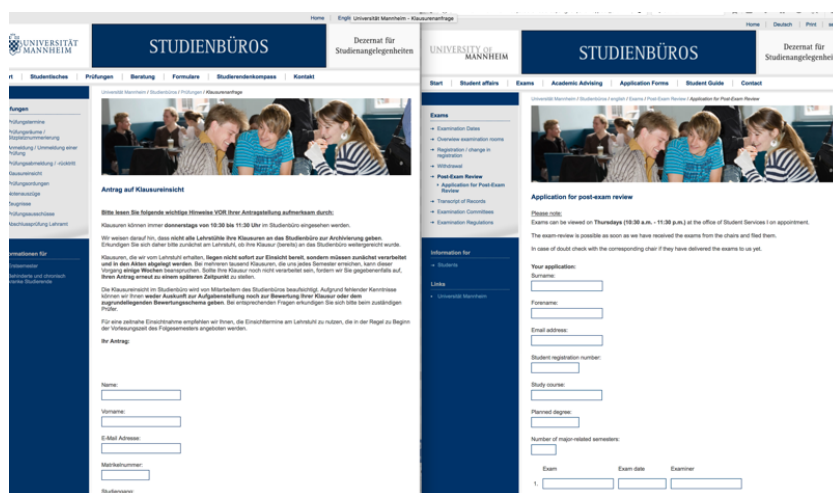


Hochschule Furtwangen
University (2017)

Also notable is the way in which the names of organisational units and documents is translated. Here, the German term is preceded by the English translation, as in “Study and Examinations Regulations (*Studienprüfungsordnung* – SPO)”, and the “State Higher Education Act (*Landeshochschulgesetz* – LHG)”. This contrasts with the policy found elsewhere of dropping the German name altogether, the implications of which are discussed below in connection with the strategic use of English.

Some differences between the German and English versions cannot be attributed to work-in-progress alone. English webpages tend to be shorter and less dense than their German counterparts (the example in Figure 6.7 being an exception). In general, the style is plainer, although not necessarily blunter, and more concise. To illustrate this, Figure 6.8 below shows an English translation that is shorter and more to the point.

Figure 6.8 – More concise in translation

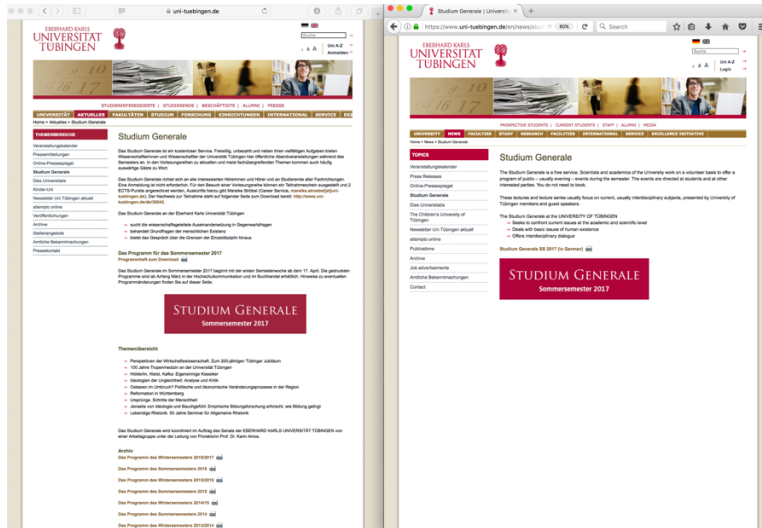


Universität Mannheim
(2017)

The eleven-word instruction in German “*Bitte lesen Sie folgende wichtige Hinweise VOR Ihrer Antragstellung aufmerksam durch*” (“Please read the following information carefully BEFORE you apply”) is condensed into “Please note”, and the German version goes into considerable detail, while the English version omits the whys and wherefores, summarising the message in two sentences. The relative brevity could also be because the full translation is pending.

In some cases, we can only guess whether a departure from the original is intentional. In others it is obvious why the translator has omitted details. In course listings, for example, the English pages usually list only the English-medium courses, not those taught in German. The shedding of non-relevant information is illustrated in Figure 6.9, where information in English about cross-curricular courses (*Studium Generale*) at Universität Tübingen is kept to the minimum.

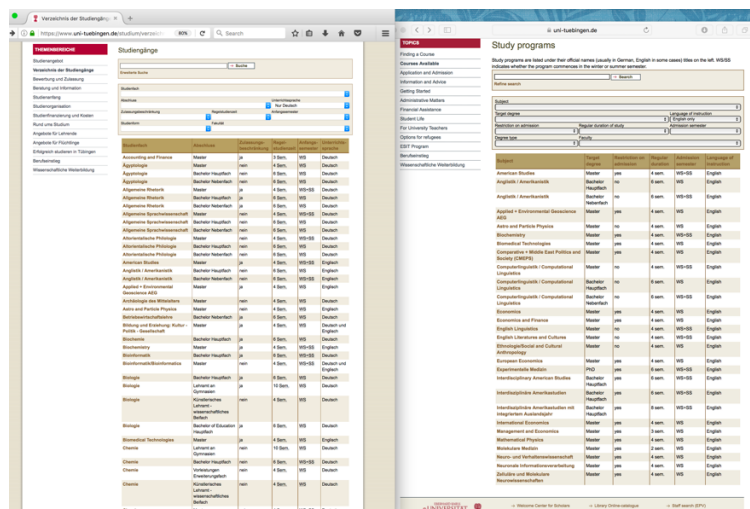
Figure 6.9 – English web pages listing only English-taught courses



Universität Tübingen (2017)

Similarly, the English version of the university's course catalogue shown below in Figure 6.10 lists only undergraduate courses taught in English. Paradoxically, some have German or hybrid titles, e.g. "*Neuro-und Verhaltenswissenschaft*", '*Anglistik/Amerikanistik*'.

Figure 6.10 – Shorter English page, and German titles for English-taught courses



Universität Tübingen (2017)

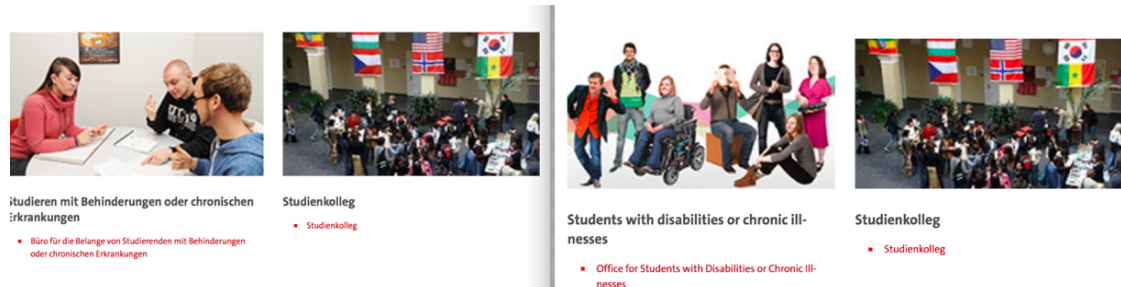
In contrast, a programme listing on the DHBW's English-language page lists all the German-taught study programmes with titles translated into English, even though only one is taught in English (DHBW, 2018). Findings relating to the relabelling of course titles are presented below in connection with RQ3.

In most of the web pages analysed, images and icons used in the German and English versions are identical. Figure 6.11 below shows an exception whereby representations of disability or chronic illnesses differ. The German version features a generic image of students having a discussion around a table. In the English version, particular

disabilities are flagged up, for example with a woman in a wheelchair. This could be an example of deliberate localisation, or accidental.

Figure 6.11 – Different images, different representations

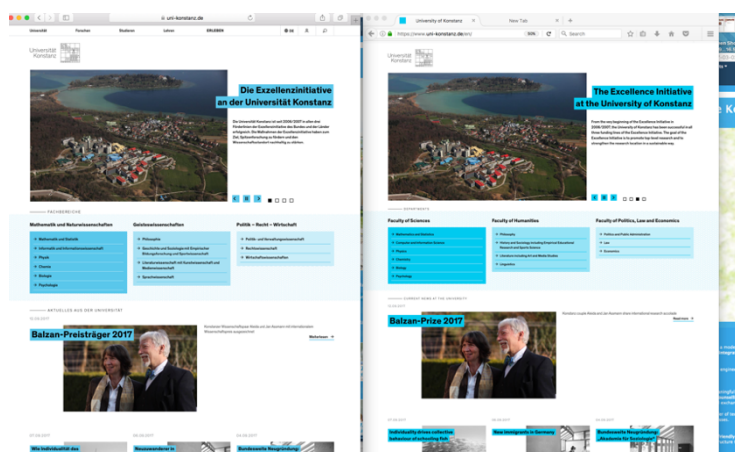
Universität Hamburg



Another example of reduced content is job vacancies, where even those requiring knowledge of English, such as the post of bilingual secretary, tend to be untranslated. Anyone wishing to apply for such a job would not necessarily need a translated version, but potential applicants landing on the English webpage would fail to spot the vacancy.

Progressing to the more advanced stages in translating websites, one finds pages that fare better in the squint test. The English version of the Welcome page of the Universität Konstanz (Figure 6.12) appears at first glance a facsimile of the German original in terms of page layout, text length and density (both minimalist), pictorial and graphical elements. Some differences are hard to spot, but worth mentioning nevertheless.

Figure 6.12 – Close match thanks to minimal text



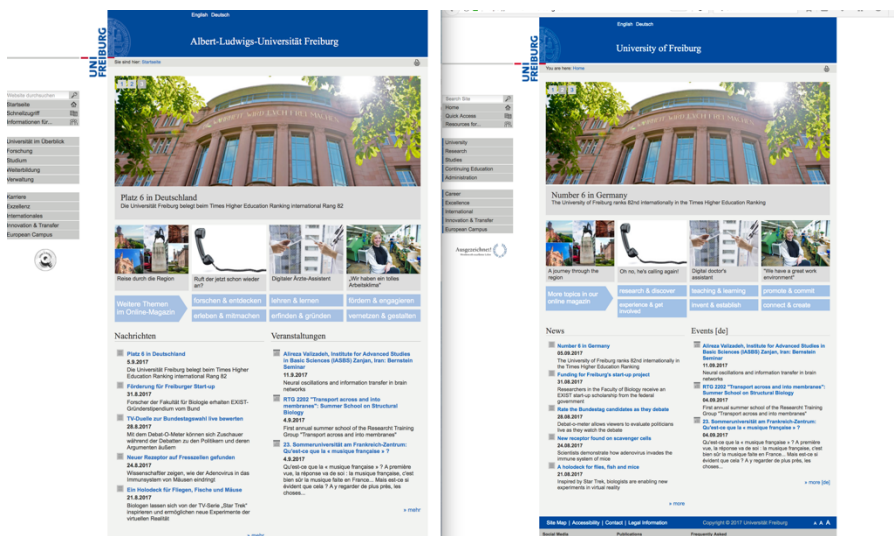
Universität Konstanz (2017)

Both pages have a high proportion of image to text, which is kept to the minimum. Also, the text comes across as authentically English. The only untranslated elements

are the caption to the photo bottom right, and the name of the university accompanying the logo (Universität Konstanz), which elsewhere is translated as University of Konstanz. The decision not to translate it as ‘University of Constance’ (the English name for Konstanz) is discussed below with reference to RQ3.

The introductory German and English pages of the Albert-Ludwigs Universität Freiburg website shown in Figure 6.13 below are also strikingly similar but with small yet significant differences.

6.13 – Close match with subtle differences



Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg (2017)

In contrast to the light, minimalist style of the Universität Konstanz pages, the template design is greyer, denser and text-heavy. This is characteristic of the older and more traditional universities. On first reading, the content is faithfully reproduced in the translated version. Apart from typos (“More topics in our online magazin [sic]”, “Researcht [sic] Training Group”), the standard of English is good, and successfully avoids overly literal translation. In both versions, events that are held in English or French are described using the respective language.

The examples above indicate that it is easier to create the mirror-image effect if the text is pared to the minimum. Nevertheless, both achieve a close match in terms of their communicative function (*skopos*). Clicking through the websites, I also landed on pages that struck me as being ‘authentically English’, a judgement that is of course highly subjective. These pages tend to be tailored or purpose-written, and are therefore relevant to RQ3.

By way of summary, Table 6.4 below presents an overview of the different stages of development, where the early stages represent what gets lost in translation, and the later stages where gains may be made.

Table 6.4 – Website translation as work-in-progress

Lost in translation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Translation “under construction” or “pending” • Navigation and headings in English, main text in German • Partly translated, but key information in German (forms, downloads) • Substandard translation (gaps and linguistic errors) • Superficially similar to the original, but links lead only to German pages
Equivalency in translation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Close match between the source and target texts in terms of communicative function (<i>skopos</i>)
Gained in translation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adapted to a particular audience (transcreation/localisation) • Illusion of authenticity: Text seems to be the original, possibly even an improvement, and not a facsimile • Purpose-written for a particular audience (authenticity)

Source: Own representation

6.2.6 Translating identity and degrees of Anglicisation

Four sample translations of the same source text (a university profile) were compared in terms of their length, readability, and degrees of Anglicisation and localisation. One of the translations was produced using the Google Translate tool. The other three (A, B and C) had been commissioned as a test to find a suitable translator. The original text, the coded translations, and a table of the lexical items compared are provided in APPENDIX N. The code itself is explained above in Chapter 5 (Methodology), and the findings presented below.

Appearance and readability

Even without performing a statistical analysis, one sees at a glance that the Google Translate version is the shortest text. This is confirmed by the scores for appearance (text length) and readability in Table 6.5 below.

Table 6.5 – Comparison of text length and readability of sample translation

Text	Text length			Readability Scores		
	Words	Characters with(out) spaces	Lines	Gunning Fog Index	Flesch Reading Ease	Flesch-Kincaid Grade Level
German original	438	3,651 (3,208)	57	21,55	N/A	N/A
Google Translate	498	3,390 (2,907)	47	22	15.6	15.6
Translation A	559	4,077 (3,524)	61	21.17	7.6 / 18.9	18.9
Translation B	513	3,796 (3,278)	56	20.78	6.8 / 17.6	17.6
Translation C	583	4,251 (3,665)	60	23.60	3.7 / 19.4	19.4

Source: own representation

On all measures, including my coding, Translation C is the most complex and challenging, and Translation B the plainest and easiest to understand. Translation B appears shorter than the German original, even though it has more words and characters, and the others are longer than the German. One reason is the agglutinative nature of the German language. So, translation involves splitting compounds into separate words (e.g. *Fachhochschulreife* → university of applied sciences entrance qualification) and turning nominalisations into verb constructions. This makes the target text less dense, but longer. Also adding to length is the need to clarify certain German expressions. Similarly, with names of institutions, the translator might choose to give the German original together with the English equivalent, for example “Wuerttemberg Academy for Administration and Business Management (*Württembergische Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftsakademie – VWA*)”.

A factor that can reduce text length is concision, although this is not inherent to English. The brevity of Google Translate might be expected as there is no aim to impress with long words. A factor that lengthens German texts is the juxtaposition of masculine and feminine nouns (*Professoren und Professorinnen*), which would be gender neutral in English (professors). Google Translate suggests “professors and professors”, which only a human can smile at.

Anglicisation, editing and localisation

A total of 32 lexical items from the German original were identified as relevant to the analysis. An overview of the translation choices is given in Appendix N, where items are colour-coded as follows:

1. red Distortion of meaning due to errors in the target language: in the text
2. orange Characteristically German
3. yellow Characteristically English
4. green English translations of German names and labels
5. blue Editing of content
6. lilac Localisation
7. pink Native-speaker (English) orientation

For each item, differences between the translations are interpreted as follows.

- ***DAS DUALE SYSTEM***: Translation A (“THE DUAL SYSTEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION”) is closest to the German, but the addition of “higher education” provides clarification for readers unfamiliar with the system. Translation B (“DUAL DEGREE”) is less accurate, since the text is about a concept and not a degree. It might also be confused with “double degree”. The Google suggestion is

(“THE DUAL COURSE”) is even more misleading. Translation C (“THE DUAL STUDY CONCEPT”) is furthest from the German, but conveys the meaning.

- ***Von Beginn an***: Translation A (“from the start”) is the plainest, and Translation B adds the intensifier “very”. Translation C “right from its inception” raises the register and is stylish, but might not be understood by non-native speakers. The Google Translate suggestion (“from the outset”) works well.
- ***Ein Erfolgsmodell***: The Google translation (“a success model”) is too literal. Translations A and B (“a success story”) show a better feel for collocation, and Translation C goes further than the original with “a resounding success”.
- ***Ihren Ursprung hat***: Translation B (“has its origins in”) is identical to the Google Translation. Translation A is also acceptable (“has its origin”). Translation C is more stylish, although “can be traced back to” might not be understood by non-native speakers.
- ***Gründung***: The choice in Translation A (“foundation”) is a mistranslation.
- ***Berufsakademien***: Google doesn’t attempt an English translation. Translation A suggests “Cooperative Education Institutions”, followed by the original term in brackets. Translation B presents the original, followed by a different translation (Cooperative State Colleges). Translation C, like Google, does not offer a translation, but adds ‘institutions’ for clarification.
- ***Württembergischen Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftsakademie (VWA)***: As with *Berufsakademien*, Google does not translate this, and the others point to different policies regarding translation and/or explanation. Also, by translating “Akademie” as “academy”, Translations A and C are closer to the original, although only Translation C adds the full name in brackets.
- ***Industrie und Handelskammer***: Only Translation B uses the official translation (“Chamber of Commerce and Industry”) (DIHK, 2018). The others follow the German word order (“Chamber of Industry and Commerce”).
- ***Hochschulsystem***: The Google text is the only one that translates ‘Hochschul-’ as “university”. Translation B (“higher education system”) is closer to the German in its use of a compound, whereas Translation A (“system of higher education”) and Translation B (“system for tertiary education”) use the genitive ‘of’ structure, which sounds more natural in English. The reference to “tertiary” also indicates familiarity with current usage in the UK.

- ***Aktuell studieren fast 34.000 junge Menschen...***: The syntax of Translation B (“Currently nearly 34,000 young people...are studying”) is closest to the German. Translation A is more elegant, and Translation C (“...are currently involved in studies”) is a further departure from the German syntax.
- ***Studienorten***: Google’s suggestion (“study places”) could be understood to mean a place for a student on a particular course. The word “institution” (Translation A) is not specific enough, and in Translation B “higher education” and “site’ do not collocate. “Locations” (Translation C) has the closest meaning, and at the time of the test was the preferred term used at the DHBW. (Now it is “campus”.)
- ***Gleich nach dem Abitur oder der Fachhochschulreife die berufliche Karriere starten***: Google repeats the original names without explanation, and also mangles the syntax. Translation A also gives the German terms for the qualifications. Translation B is too vague, implying secondary education at any level. Unlike the others, Translation B speaks directly to the student (“after completing your...”), but this is not consistent in the text. Translation C is more detailed, but does not give the German equivalents, which arguably would be important for the reader.
- ***Die Besonderheit der Konzeption***: Google’s “the peculiarity of the concept” misleads because the prosody of “peculiarity” is usually negative. Translations A (“distinctive feature”) and C (“unique feature”) are acceptable, but Translation C (“the special attraction”) goes further than the German in marketing the concept.
- ***Studiums***: Google’s (“study”) and Translation A (“course of study”) are too vague. Translation B (“degree course”) makes the level clearer, but would be possible, although the degree includes a practical component. Translation C (“course of academic studies”) is the most precise.
- ***einer praxisbezogener Ausbildung***: Translation C (“practice-oriented education and vocational training”) is the only one that expresses the combination of academic studies and on-the-job training, and improves on the German pleonasm.
- ***in Unternehmen, Banken, Steuerberatungs- und Wirtschaftsprüfungskanzleien sowie sozialen Einrichtungen***: By using the singular form (“in a company”), Translation B is an improvement on the German original because it makes clear that students work for just one company or social institution. The plural form implies several work placements during the studies.
- ***für den Beruf zu qualifizieren***: Translation A (“for preparing students for professional life”) is the plainest. Google Translate (“qualifying students for the

profession”) is the closest to the German, and Translation C (“ensure that students... achieve the level of qualification they aspire to”) is the most elegant.

- ***das Ausbildungsunternehmen...***: Google Translate and Translation A are straightforward and they match the rhythm of the German text. Translation B varies the verbs (“communicating skills”, “teaching theory”). Translation C is again more of a departure in terms of syntax, and is also less plain (“venue”, “complemented by ...”).
- ***in partnerschaftlicher Kooperation***: Google Translate gets the syntax wrong. Translation A (“They collaborate as partners”) is the plainest, in contrast to Translation C’s (“Their cooperation in a spirit of partnership”). Translation B is the most German-sounding (“In partnership-based collaboration”).
- ***differenzierte Lehrkörper***: Google Translate (“differentiated teaching staff”) is the closest to the German. Translation A (“diverse teaching staff”) is plain English, but the term “diverse” may have negative connotations (a hodgepodge), Translation B (“differentiated body”) is also rather German-sounding, and Translation C (“highly nuanced faculty”) somewhat pretentious. Also, the term “faculty” may be ambiguous.
- ***Professoren und Professorinnen sowie Lehrbeauftragte***: Google’s suggestion (“professors and professors”) shows the limitations of machine translation. The others give “lecturers” for *Lehrbeauftragte*, and Translation A (“part-time lecturers”) draws attention to the adjunct status. *Lehrbeauftragte* may include professors from elsewhere, but the translations reinforce the German distinction.
- ***Gremien wie dem Aufsichtsrat oder dem Hochschulrat***: All the translations suggest different solutions for each body. While they are all acceptable, this highlights the need for an institutional glossary.
- ***Das duale System***: Google Translate and Translation A (“the dual system”) resemble the German. Translation B (“the cooperative system”) is misleading. Translation C (“the dual concept”) is further from the German, but probably the best in context.
- ***Der Wechsel zwischen Theorie und Praxisphasen***: Translation B has a typo that an electronic spell-check would not detect (“alteration” instead of “alternation”).
- ***Zentrale Evaluations- und Akkreditierungsagentur (ZEwA)***: Google Translate and Translation A give the English, followed by the German abbreviation. Translation B only gives an English translation. Translation C starts with the

English (lower case, suggesting an explanation rather than an official translation), followed by the original title.

- **ECTS-Punkte:** Translation C (“with 2010 ECTS credit points) is the most precise, and by including “credits” it adds to the original.
- **Den Masterstudiengang ‘Master in Taxation’:** Translations A and B correctly use ‘Master’s’, but are clunky (repetition of ‘Masters’). Google Translate and Translation C avoid translating *Studiengang*, assuming that the reference to “Master” in the name makes the level self-explanatory. Also, this could be seen as an improvement of the original in that it avoids repetition. (We also see this in “as of late 2011”, avoiding the repetition of ‘autumn’ in the original.
- **Duale Ausbildungsprofil:** “Dual training” (Google Translate) is misleading, as it suggests two sites for the on-the-job training.
- **motivierten und kompetenten Nachwuchskräften:** Translations B and C (“motivated and professional employees”, “motivated and up-and-coming professional talents”) avoid charges of ageism. The other two use “young”.
- **hohes Fach- und Anwenderwissen:** Translation C “a high degree of technical and user know-how) is furthest from the German. Translation A suggests “a high level of expertise”. This is an improvement on Translation B’s “practical knowledge”, but might not be understood by some non-native speakers.
- **hohes... sowie ausgezeichnet:** Translation B uses hyperbole (“outstanding... as well as outstanding” that goes beyond the German ‘*ausgezeichnet*’. The repetition of ‘outstanding’ may be deliberate, or an infelicity.
- **Programms:** Google Translate uses the AE spelling (program), unlike the others (programme). The translators were asked to use BE, but it seems that the Google Translate uses AE spelling as the default.

Further items are coded in the text but not numbered. For example, the different usage of “sound” in Translations A and C might be missed by a non-native speaker.

While the Google Translate text is surprisingly accurate in parts, it would be rejected due to the high error rate. Of the others, Translation B comes across as more German, whereas Translation C lies firmly at the Anglicisation/localisation end of the spectrum. Both Translation A and Translation C come across as more authentically English. Translation A is plainer in style, possibly because the translator is aiming at a non-native speaker global audience. Translation C, in contrast, is pitched to an educated British native-speaker. Also, the style is more elaborate than the German

and some of the claims are exaggerated. Nevertheless, the judges opted for this one because it demonstrates familiarity with the ‘*duales System*’, and the translator seems skilled enough to adjust the style if necessary.

By juxtaposing the colour-coded translations, we see the influence of a translator’s choices on how a university is depicted, and the potential for misrepresentation if the translator lacks familiarity with the systems and structures that make it unique. The findings also show that a text scoring high on readability is not necessarily the most appropriate for the audience. I return to this in Chapter 7.

6.3 Strategic use of translation

This section presents findings that show how English is used strategically by German universities for profiling and positional advantage (RQ3).

It begins with rationales for translation and how they relate to organisational goals, followed by translation policies and practices used to achieve these goals. Examples are given of strategic branding and labelling in English, and practices aimed at minimising or magnifying the distorting effects of translation.

It then turns to the obstacles to translation, presenting evidence of terminological controversies and organisational resistance that frustrate aspirations to create a bilingual university. The section concludes by highlighting some of the unintended consequences of translation.

6.3.1 *Rationales for translation and organisational goals*

Demand by institutional type

The questionnaire findings indicate that the strongest demand for translation is from the traditional, full-curriculum *Universitäten* (39%). The *Fachhochschulen* come close behind at 37%, and the *Technische Universitäten* account for almost a tenth. The *Duale Hochschulen* and *Kunst-/Musikschulen* also get a mention. This should be seen in the light of *Universitäten* and *Technische Universitäten* accounting for only a third of all the institutions of tertiary education (Buschle and Hähnel, 2016, p. 7).

Almost half the translators work for medium-sized universities (between 5,000 and 15,000 students), and the same proportion for universities founded between 1950 and 2000. There is no clear correlation between the demand for translation and the age or size of the university, but it seems that many translators work for universities that cannot boast a long and established tradition, yet are old enough to have experienced

the NPM reforms. Arguably, these universities are more likely to be sensitive to issues of institutional positioning.

Rationales for translation

According to the questionnaire results, the main reason for translation is that universities want to enhance their international visibility (become more attractive or competitive). A fifth (22%) agree that “creating a bilingual campus is part of the university’s international strategy”. Only one person agreed that the main reason is to enhance the university’s status in Germany.

As one might expect, demand for translation and English in general accords with the ‘abroad’ and ‘at home’ dimensions of internationalisation. One respondent translates for a university department where “all courses are taught in English, university language is English”. Another observes that “first there was the internationalisation strategy (international campus), much later the uni realised that it can’t do without an in-house translator (also in terms of corporate language)”.

Further drivers of translation include the pressure of rankings and the expansion of global higher education networks and partnerships (Schmitt, 2016). These also help to explain the growing importance attached to a corporate language in English.

The questionnaire findings indicate that the groups most likely to be targeted through English texts are international students, with undergraduates and postgraduates in equal portions (31%/33%). A quarter of respondents (24%) identify international researchers as the main target group.

The translators generally concur that universities look different in translation. The linguistic background of the translators may have some influence on their view of the image their university seeks to project: Those identifying as German native speakers are more likely to see it as building on German academic traditions, whereas the English native speakers are more likely to see theirs as adopting British/American traditions. The implications are discussed in Chapter 7.

There may be situations in which institutional translation serves goals other than internationalisation, for example as a panacea for conflicts within the university. A contributor to the online discussion complains:

“We have spent the last four years [...] trying to make it clear to our pres, for whom “internationalisation” has been writ large, that he's going to need a lot more than a lone part-timer plying her trade in a back-office. We have come to the conclusion that the University higher-ups are REALLY hoping that their

English-language documents remedy all the problems they have in their German institutions, as if finding the "right" English name will obscure or make up for the fact that the institution itself is mired in conflict. (Anon. (pers. comments), 2014)

Thus, while organisational tensions can be glossed over by introducing new labels in English, finding the “right” English name can also be contentious. Further evidence of this is given below.

6.3.2 Translation policies and strategies in identity construction

Branding in English

Translating the name of a university is a first step in tailoring the brand to an international audience (Müller and Langer, 2014, p. 8). With domestic audiences in mind, an English name can also serve the purposes of positioning and legitimation.

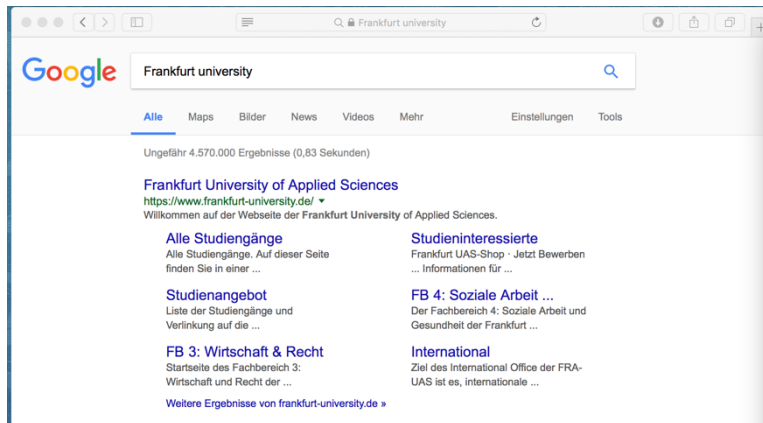
For traditional universities such as Albert-Ludwigs Universität Freiburg, Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, Ruprecht-Karls Universität Heidelberg, the German name typically follows the pattern: **historical figure + *Universität* + city**. In their English-language guises reference to the historical figure is dropped. Instead, we have just ‘University of Freiburg’, ‘University of Tübingen’ and ‘Heidelberg University’. Nevertheless, even in the English-language websites of these three universities, the logo (with the full German name + *Universität*) remains unchanged.

As mentioned above, tertiary institutions in Germany that do not confer doctorates are not allowed to call themselves ‘*Universität*’, but there is no law against ‘university’. Unsurprisingly, this loophole is exploited. For example, Fachhochschule Furtwangen, having dropped the ‘*Fach-*’ prefix to become Hochschule Furtwangen, adds the suffix ‘university’ in its English-language texts to become ‘Hochschule Furtwangen University’, incorporating the Anglicised name in its logo for both English and German representations.

An older university that retains the ‘celebrated scholar’ prefix and ‘*Universität*’ in its logo, in both its German and English-language representations, is Goethe-Universität Frankfurt-am-Main. In doing so, it distinguishes itself from another tertiary institution in Frankfurt that is not a ‘*Universität*’. Formerly the Fachhochschule Frankfurt, it skipped the interim phase of dropping the ‘*Fach-*’ prefix and in July 2014 went straight to renaming itself ‘University of Applied Sciences Frankfurt’ (FAS), dispensing with the German name altogether. This rebranding measure is aimed to reflect, and possibly promote, its international focus and growing reputation for research (Frankfurt University of Applied Sciences, 2018). It might also give the

FAS a marketing edge over its more venerable rival. This is demonstrated by entering ‘Frankfurt university’ into Google’s search engine. As the screenshot in Figure 6.14 shows, Frankfurt University of Applied Sciences as the first ‘hit’, which could create the impression that it is the bigger player.

Fig. 6.14– Googling ‘Frankfurt university’



Google Screenshot, 2017

Whereas FAS avoids reference to ‘*Hochschule*’ in its German-language representations, Friedrich-Alexander Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg (FAU) and Freie Universität Berlin and Universität Hamburg are examples of *Universitäten* that eschew the word ‘university’ altogether in their English-language guises. Universität Hamburg and Universität Leibniz do not have a celebrated scholar prefix, but retain the ‘*Universität*’ designation.

When asked about the reasons, several translators explained to me that the HEIs that are not *Universitäten* are branding themselves in English to enhance their position both domestically and internationally, prompting their higher status rivals to assert their national prestige through the *Universität* designation. It was also pointed out in one of the email discussions that since *Universität* is part of the name, as a proper noun, it cannot be translated anyway. When the university is referred to more generally in texts, one translator explained “...we draw a distinction between “Universität - university” und “(Fach)Hochschule – Higher Education Institution” – well aware that they translate it as “University of applied sciences””.

A final observation concerns the translation of place names. For the names of many German cities there are English equivalents (Köln-Cologne, Hannover-Hanover, Konstanz-Constance, München-Munich). Some universities choose the English equivalent in translation (University of Cologne, Ludwig Maximilian University of

Munich), while others retain the German (University of Konstanz, Leibniz University Hannover). The rationale for this is not clear from the findings.

Labelling in English

More than 40% of the questionnaire respondents agree that English is supplanting German in universities. Of the examples they give, most are titles of taught subjects (“Healthcare Technology”, “Transportation Interior Design”, “the entire area of Informatik”). Also mentioned is the use of English for titles of official events, and for topics such as “Gender & Diversity”. One respondent puts this down to the “inevitable Vormarsch of Denglisch”.

English labels are also applied to courses delivered in German. Statistics from the Hochschulkompass database (HRK, 2017) suggest that at least 10% of the bachelor degree courses at German universities have English titles in spite of the main language of instruction (*Hauptunterrichtssprache*) being German. Of the 2,500 bachelor degree courses starting with the letters A-E, at least 65 (4%) have titles in English even though they are taught exclusively in German. This is likely to be a conservative estimate. By including all the Business Administration courses taught mainly in German, the percentage would exceed 10%.

A list of the courses taught in German but with English titles (Index A-E) is presented in APPENDIX I. A full analysis including courses listed under F-Z would have presented a more accurate picture.

The DHBW VS has joined the bandwagon of giving some of its German-taught degree programmes English labels, and the reasons for this were explored in interviews with administrators and faculty members, as described in Section 5.3.3.

When shown the list (APPENDIX J), the initial response of all interviewees was to observe that many titles contain loanwords already commonplace in German (Controlling, Consulting, Marketing, Management, Food, Governance). Yet when asked what they understood by ‘Application Management’ and ‘Food Management’, they expressed bafflement.

The German interviewees expressed doubt that an adequate translation could be found for ‘management’. Hazarding a guess at possible equivalents (*Leitung, Verwaltung, Geschäftstätigkeit, zielgerichtete Führung von Unternehmensprozessen*) they concluded that they were either too specific or did not have the right appeal. According to one professor, ‘Management’ sounds more modern because “the business agenda is currently set in America”. The research assistant argued that it helps elevate the status of the programme and those taking part in it. In her view, it

implies “something high up, you’re going to be a manager, you’re going to be someone high up like a CEO. It just makes it sound more, you know, modern and, you know, we’re international.”

Several interviewees noted a marketing advantage, describing English as “fashionable”, “in”, “modern”, “cosmopolitan”, “hip”, “international”, “sexy”, “worldly”, “timeless”, even “glitzy”. The research assistant interprets the preference for English as follows:

“I think in Germany people have the impression that if they use English titles for degree programmes, or anything really related to academia, that English may sound more modern, cosmopolitan you know, international... I don’t know, that’s just the feeling I have, that people thinks it makes it... sound better or more attractive.”

German, in contrast, was described in more pejorative terms, such as “dull”, “bureaucratic” and “long-winded”. According to another German speaker:

“... an English title mostly is more attractive than German because German words are normally much longer, and you have to add word by word and then there is a very long title. [...] I think Accounting sounds more attractive than Rechnungswesen, which is more formal and more boring ...”

Significantly, one professor gave an example of a degree programme thought to be failing on account of its German title: *Mittelständische Wirtschaft* (Small and Medium-Sized Enterprises), which was deemed “dull” and “not sexy”. It has been relabelled “Digital Business Management”, where ‘digital’ is the magic word. In his view, “If one puts ‘Digital’ in front of a title, suddenly the money starts flowing in”.

Several interviewees noted how English is used to attract students, international or otherwise, and appeal to potential employees. One interviewee commented that “especially for students it might sound more interesting if they say ‘General Management’ as this is the word that everybody will understand even if it’s English [...]. Sounds better than ‘I’m studying *Allgemeine Betriebswirtschaftslehre*’”. According to another lecturer, students would be “much prouder of talking about Human Resource Management than *Personalwesen*”.

One professor would not be against renaming his own subject (*Volkswirtschaftslehre*) ‘General Economics’. His lecture materials are in English, but he delivers the lectures in German, arguing that it doubles the benefit for them. Another professor has an English-language website for his research field in order to reach a wider audience. In

his view, there is no need for a German version because his target readers understand enough English.

It was further argued that English course titles will help students in their careers or applications for postgraduate studies, since a German title would have to be translated or explained.

Several interviewees noted that the use of English titles might be an outcome of the Bologna process and the standardisation of degrees. The English lecturer explained this in terms of expediency, speculating that when the Master's degree programmes were put together, it was easier to just copy the titles from other universities.

"I think that it's probably for many of them because of the way the Master's courses were quickly put together [...] it was a very rushed process and I think it was probably just a lot easier to have a look at the content that you wanted to teach... what was that compatible with, from other universities, and copy and paste your content onto the title of a university that's already run the Master's degree. [...] But with the Master's being only a few years old [...] that was probably much easier to rename these and to think, 'well we've never had Master's degrees before because it was the diploma previously, so let's see what Master's degree courses are available on the market already'."

This comment illustrates how an illusion of compliance is created without substantial change in response to an external pressure.

Arguably, some of the above examples constitute a linguistic ploy bordering on 'false labelling'. To the extent that they serve as camouflage, they can also be interpreted as a variant of Type 3 Anglicism. Several interviewees would agree:

"...it's almost like a false promise, you know, using all these English terms to describe the programme but then nothing is in English. [It] kind of suggests at least part of that whole programme is being taught in English, and you're going to learn about that whole international side of the field."

"I think they tend to feel it's attractive or more exciting to use all these fancy English words, all the terminology, even if they don't know what it actually means. It makes it sound more worldly and more international, which is really a lie when you think about it, because these programmes are not aimed at an international audience. They're strictly aimed at a German audience really..."

“Yes, it is [false labelling]. Why does a German course need an English title? English isn’t really right. Yes, when you see the titles, you assume that there’s some sort of link to English, or that the course was taught in English.”

“...if it’s taught in German shouldn’t we think about if possible giving them German titles? Also because we do have, you know, the odd person from abroad looking at the website and these programmes suggest they’re being taught in English, so that’s a bit... that’s an issue I think.”

The strongest criticism of English titles came from the administrators, who argued that the use of English is going too far. One of them expressed the view that “if one studies in Germany, then [the course] should be in German, and one should really give it a German name”.

“...in some cases a German expression would be as good as an English one, and we do not have to say everything in English because that [implies] that the whole course or the whole degree is in English or at least part of it.”

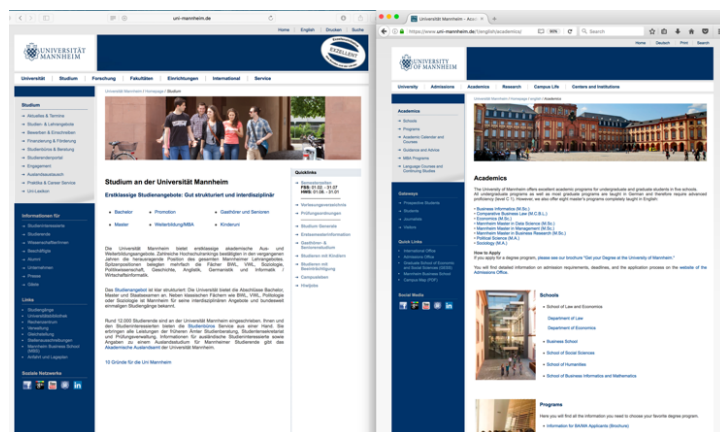
One professor did not accept that English labels were misleading. In his view, it has ceased to be a mark of distinction to have studied in English because graduates are, in his estimation, proficient enough in English anyway. He also dismissed some titles as management jargon that will only last a few years.

With regard to the choice of labels, the Social Work professor gave an account of a current faculty discussion about whether to switch to an English title (Disability Studies) for one of its German-taught programmes, highlighting the tension inherent in the university’s dual identity: The faculty argue in favour of English because “English is the language of science and research” and they “need to comply with European standards”, but the partner institutions insist on retaining German labels on the grounds that Anglicisms impede communication in the workplace. So, while English titles might help the university improve its standing in the international community, they might alienate employers in sectors such as social work where English is less likely to be used.

A variation on the use of English titles as camouflage is the relabelling of language courses as content courses. A university under pressure to offer more EMI subjects in the curriculum might find that the students lack the language skills necessary for study in English, or that it is difficult to find lecturers willing and able to teach in English. At my own university, a language course called “English for Technical Management” has been relabelled as “International Operations Management”, yet continues to be taught by language teachers with slight adjustments to the curriculum.

Some universities choose not to translate course titles. The English webpage below (Figure 6.15) states that most of the undergraduate courses are taught in German. Only those courses taught in English are listed, with irrelevant information omitted.

Figure 6.15 – Accurate labelling



Screenshot Universität
Mannheim (2017)

Many of the websites feature Latinate terms more commonly associated with British and American universities. The use of this term ‘*Alumni*’, for example, is relatively new in Germany, and seems to have been adopted from the US and the UK where former students are cultivated as donors (Hergert, 2016).

As well as courses, institutes and departments are given English names, even if most activities are conducted in German. Examples include the DHBW’s Center for Advanced Studies (CAS) in Heilbronn, and the Center for Teaching and Learning at the Universität Tübingen. This would not constitute false labelling if the expectation is that at least some activities will be carried out in English in future.

Practices aimed at minimising or magnifying the distorting effects of translation

The English pages were analysed with a view to collecting examples of translation choices that minimise or magnify the distorting effects of translation. These include deliberate non-translation (minimising) and localisation (magnifying). In the case of the, elements of image, style and content are adjusted to an international audience.

A decision not to translate a name or title in order to preserve the heritage or ‘personality’ of the university is an example of a minimising effect. Staff at Universität Konstanz who write in English are advised that if there is no official translation, the German title should be published in italics, followed by an explanation or translation in English (Universität Konstanz, 2018b). In doing so, the university retains its German identity and familiarises international audiences with its (German) corporate language. Translation choices aimed at projecting a different image would

be an example of a magnifying effect, as illustrated above with examples of attempts to project an image that is “sleeker” or “friendlier” than the German version.

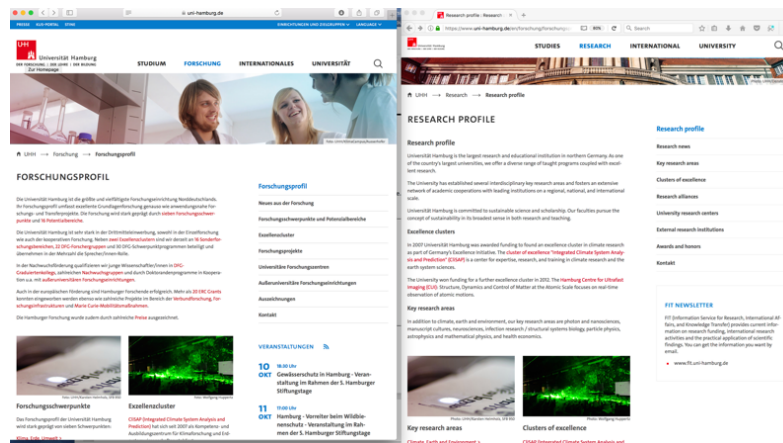
Advice for university staff using the website to communicate with international students and researchers tends to echo the guidelines and checklists published by the GATE-Germany consortium (Madison and Brenn-White, 2014). For example, the style guide for English language webpages published by Universität Konstanz (2018a) advises the author to make certain adjustments to accommodate “an international audience with very different language abilities”. One tip is to follow the KISS principle (Keep it Short and Simple) because “English readers tend to gloss over texts even more so than German readers”, and “many international readers are not native speakers”. Another tip stresses the need to be concise and to hit the right tone.

Authors and translators are also advised to use short sentences, summarise with bullet points, prefer the active to the passive, prefer verbs to nouns, avoid redundancies, address readers directly, and use “simple words that are easy to understand”. Examples are given of “complicated language” (additional, due to, sufficient, ...) that could be replaced by “simple language” (more/extra, because of, enough, ...), and there is a tip on structuring a text. Writers are also advised to appeal to the emotions, and to avoid being too specific. A tip headed “What’s in it for me” states that “English readers want to know what advantages they stand to gain”, and that “the casual reader is less interested in image cultivation and specific information details”. The implication here is that German readers have different expectations of a website.

Much of the advice is pragmatic, and could equally apply to the German webpages, especially where a plainer and more jargon-free style might help to get the message across. On the other hand, the guide advocates a style that might be considered by some to be too simplistic. The value of such advice and the underlying assumptions are discussed in Chapter 7, and examples of tailored webpages are given below.

Figure 6.16. shows a tailored webpage where information in English is grouped into sections with headings, and with fewer figures. In this example, the style does not come across as simplistic, possibly because it is aimed at researchers. Arguably, a similar structure could be used in the German version.

Figure 6.16 – Tailored structure



Screenshot, Universität Hamburg website (2017)

The website analysis reveals that some English pages differ in content as well as style and structure, as illustrated below in Figure 6.17.

Figure 6.17 – Tailored content



Screenshot Goethe Universität Frankfurt-am-Main (2017)

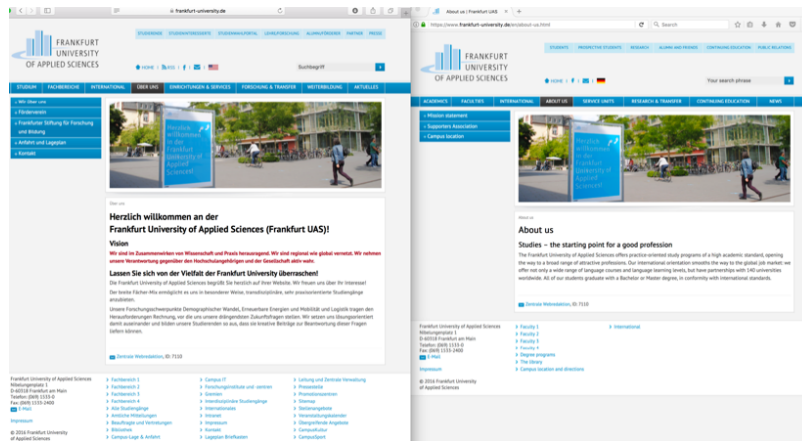
The English version omits information deemed irrelevant for a non-domestic audience, e.g. “early career researchers”, “alumni”, “*Bürger*” (courses for the public), “*Presse und Kommunikation*”, “*Freunde der Universität*” (sponsors), “*Aktuelle Infos zur VG-Wort Problematik*” (new copyright regulations). On the other hand, the contacts for “INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS”, “INTERNATIONAL RESEARCHERS” and “PRESS CONTACTS” are listed only in the English version.

As mentioned above, when attached to the logo, the name of the university is left untranslated (GOETHE UNIVERSITÄT). Elsewhere the name is Anglicised, and with the city added (“Welcome to Goethe University Frankfurt”). In the English version, the search field (*Suchbegriff*) is untranslated, a detail requiring localisation.

News about the university's German-language web magazine is replaced by a "corporate video" that features a male voice speaking in received pronunciation British English. No corresponding video in German could be found. On the other hand, there is no link to an organigram in the English version.

Many of the websites have pages written for an international audience, the practice referred above as 'transcreation'. Figure 6.18 gives an example.

Figure 6.18 – Transcreated web page (I)

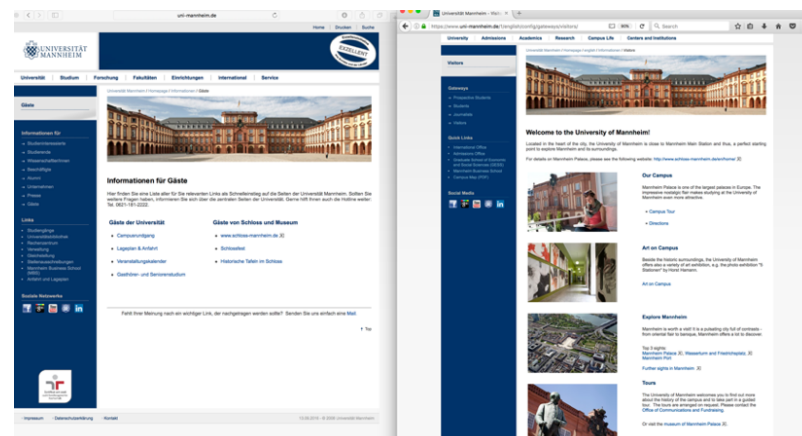


Screenshot Frankfurt University of Applied Sciences (2017)

The German version begins with a welcome (*Herzlich willkommen...!*) followed by a summary of the university's vision and a paragraph about programmes and areas of research. The English version has neither a welcome nor a vision statement. Instead, it starts with the headings "About us" followed by "Studies – the starting point for a good profession" and a paragraph including mention of its international orientation, range of language courses and university partnerships.

A further example of tailoring to different domestic audiences is shown below in Figure 6.18. These webpages provide information for guests at a university that happens to be located in a palace.

Figure 6.19 – Transcreated web page (2)



Screenshot Universität Mannheim (2017)

The German page has two types of guest in mind: those visiting the university, and those more interested in the palace and museum. Links direct the reader to pages with information in German. The English page has the former group in mind, welcoming them specifically to “the University”. The palace is presented as the campus, and the information is grouped under topic headings accompanied by short texts and pictures.

Further examples of tailored webpages can be provided on request.

6.3.3 Challenges in translating the university

Inefficiencies in the translation process that call for more effective management are presented above in Section 6.1.2. This section presents evidence of translation flashpoints and organisational resistance that frustrate aspirations to become a bilingual university.

Flashpoints in translation

The extent to which a university retains its identity in English depends partly on how its translators deal with terms that are context-sensitive. Of particular relevance for my investigation are terms that pose a challenge to translators due to differences between university systems, cultures and traditions, and that provoke discussion about concepts and aspects of identity, status, prestige, and legal systems that for cultural or historical reasons are associated only with certain countries or systems. I refer to them as ‘flashpoints’ because they ignite controversy and thus illuminate areas of tension.

During the focus group discussion, participants noted that titles (*Fakultät, Doktorand, Lehrbeauftragte*) are especially tricky to translate. One reason is that translating titles requires an understanding of particular higher education systems and their usage in specific contexts. *Fakultät* cannot always be translated as ‘faculty’. The title ‘doctor’ carries more weight in some countries than in others (e.g. *Dottore* in Italian for someone with a first degree, *Professore* for a secondary school teacher), and the German ‘professor-doctor’ titles (*Prof. Dr. Max Müller*) may not fit an international academic style. Also, some terms carry negative connotations in some contexts. It was noted, for example, that the American term ‘adjunct instructor’ is seen by some in the UK as derogatory, and therefore not an appropriate translation of *Lehrbeauftragte*.

The discussion revealed the ways in which titles reflect ego and hierarchical structures. A translation choice can be contentious if a person feels that their title is downgraded or not given the proper respect in the translation, or if someone with greater leverage uses translation as a means to elevate their status. In many cases there is no equivalent term or accurate translation because the concept or the position is

specific to the higher education system. Also, some words denote a legal status that may not exist in another language or jurisdiction.

The questionnaire built on these findings by inviting respondents to give examples of terms that draw attention to significant differences between higher education systems and cultures, and to explain why particular translations might be controversial. Table 6.6 lists some examples collected from the focus group meeting, the questionnaire responses, online discussions, and conference proceedings, and are accompanied by translators' comments where relevant. I do not offer translations myself because this would imply that a single, satisfactory, all-purpose translation exists, thus missing the point. Rather, my intention is to demonstrate what constitutes a flashpoint, and why.

Table 6.6 – Flashpoints in translation (examples and translators' comments)

Untranslatables	Translators' Comments
<i>Akademischer Oberrat / Rat</i>	"Translating the term loses its weight and significance in German. As there is no equivalent in English, it also becomes unclear in English why it is of any importance." "It exists in the <i>deutsches Beamtenrecht</i> only", "Is it really worth explaining something your audience doesn't know or care about?"
<i>Außerplanmäßiger / ausserordentlicher Professor</i>	"Tied to the German system and would require explanation," "Lack of definition", "Legal basis? Federal? State?", "Different systems?" "Non-tenured", "Confusion with guest professor?"
<i>Beamte</i>	"The concept does not exist elsewhere in this form."
<i>Bildung</i>	"Not quite the same as 'education'"
<i>Duales Studium</i>	"A very specific system and the terminology that comes with it can be confusing. "I reckon it is difficult for non-native speakers to understand that it is not the classical German " <i>duale Ausbildung</i> " / apprenticeship system but a related system on an academic level.
<i>Fachschaften</i>	"They have requested not to be translated (before: departmental student representatives) because they said the international students know them as the " <i>Fachschaft</i> "."
<i>Fakultät, Kanzler</i>	"These look similar to the English, but aren't necessarily the same as 'faculty', and 'chancellor,'" "Faculty in American means the teaching / academic staff",
<i>Grundlagen- und Orientierungsprüfung</i>	"Very likely pre-Bologna, when an actual exam was required to progress onto the upper semesters. Still, it turns up in some SPOs. On campus, it is hard to explain that this ' <i>Prüfung</i> ' is not an exam."
<i>Hochschulassistent</i>	"Often used in CVs, but an outdated term firmly embedded in the German system."
<i>Hochschulgesetz</i>	"Proper name for law on universities. Would not make sense to translate it since no-one would find it online in English if they were looking for it." "There are many terms for which we have pushed for a translation but have encountered opposition and argument that it is an ' <i>Eigenname</i> ' (proper name) or untranslatable".
<i>Juniorprofessor</i>	"Not the same thing as an assistant professor, and requires explanation."

<i>Lehrbeauftragte</i>	"US translation 'adjunct instructor' may be seen as derogatory in the UK. Other translations (casual lecturer, external lecturer, part-time lecturer) problematic."
<i>Lehrkraft für besondere Aufgaben</i>	"Position doesn't exist in Anglo-American academia."
<i>Lehrstuhl/Professor</i>	"Not exactly controversial, but no exact equivalent."
<i>Privatdozent</i>	"Does not exist in the 'Anglo structures' (or at least not in the British system)."
<i>Prof. Dr. or Dipl.-Ing PhD</i>	"Discrepancies between DE/US/UK use of 'professor'; pride and prestige in the DE system clashing with English conventions regarding titles."
<i>Studienabschnitte, Grundstudium, Hauptstudium, e.g. Grundstudiumprüfung Fachsemester (or Fach-anything)</i>	"In most instances, these terms are pre-Bologna, but still turn up." "I do translate it (<i>Fachsemester</i>) into 'semester, but it does bother the German speakers to be so 'imprecise'."
<i>Vorpraktikum</i>	"Some degree programs require an internship before admission."
<i>wissenschaftlich</i>	scientific? academic?
<i>Wissenschaftliche Hochschulabschluss</i>	"Coded HR language for the minimum degree required of a job applicant"
<i>Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter</i>	"Seems to be a position that covers everything from a doctoral student to a postgraduate fellow"
<i>Studium</i>	Translated in AE as "academics" but in BE this refers to people working in academia; BE translation would be 'degree course'

Source: own representation

Further examples of German concepts with no direct equivalents in English-speaking universities were suggested, including: *Erste Juristische Prüfung, Habilitation, BAföG, Beihilfe, Oberseminar, Stellenfreilenkungsvorbehalt, Vertretenmüssen*, and *Semesterapparat*.

Some flashpoints are so-called 'false friends', where a similarity between words misleads one into thinking they mean the same thing (*Fakultät*/faculty). In other cases, a translation might appear to have a direct equivalent when there is none (*duales Studium*/dual study). Terms meaning different things to different audiences (*Studium*/academics/degree courses) also constitute flashpoints.

Translators' strategies for dealing with flashpoints

As observed in Section 6.1, the final choice is usually a matter of negotiation and compromise, where the translator may or may not have the last word. The translator also has the option of leaving a term untranslated if it is specific to a higher education system, maybe just adding an explanation or clarification. With such terms, most questionnaire respondents (64%) prefer not to translate, but to keep the original and add an explanation. A smaller proportion (14%) would use an English term that the

audience is most likely to understand, and just one respondent favours using a term that closely resembles the German. Between these choices, there are various permutations, ranging from “any of the above, depending on the situation”, to “Either don’t translate and add an explanation or ask a fellow Hochschulübersetzer for advice”. Another adds that while translations are sometimes necessary, it is generally better to give explanations “if the reader needs to become familiar with the German university system, or the terminology used at a particular university”.

While most translators prefer not to translate terms specific to German higher education, they may be obliged to in the case of titles. As we have seen, it is with titles that translators are most likely to encounter resistance to their choices. One translator’s response is to “give ‘em a big fat file of organigrams from the QS top ranked universities. They don’t really care – they are just afraid of ‘getting it wrong’. Show them you are right and they will a) accept it, or b) give up rather than having to read the stuff.”.

Strategies for translating German HE terms with various meanings in English were developed using mind-mapping techniques in a workshop during the 5th Network Meeting of higher education translators in May 2018. A separate workshop (“How do I bring the terminology to the user?”) dealt with ways of persuading staff to accept translators’ choices. Photos of the results, as presented on flipcharts, are provided in APPENDIX R, and the strategies summarised in Chapter 8. What this shows is that if translators are not equipped with such strategies, are unfamiliar with the HE systems they are translating between, and are unable to justify their choices to those affected, the translation will probably not be fit for purpose.

Organisational resistance to the adoption of English

According to David Glowsky, translation coordinator at Humbolt-Universität Berlin, there was some initial resistance to English, but it has become a normal part of university life: “The more English there is, the more people expect English to be there” (2016). Glowsky also argues that translation warrants greater recognition as a university service due to its far-reaching effects throughout the organisation.

The findings from the focus group suggest that while translators sometimes find their choices challenged, they rarely encounter resistance to the service. Rather, their work is generally sought out and valued. The participants were quick to challenge the term “Anglicisation” (with its postcolonial connotations) during the discussion, with at least one person preferring to view it as a by-product of internationalisation, echoing Glowsky’s comment above. It was further noted that most translation work is aimed not just at students from English-speaking countries, but throughout the world.

On the question of whether German universities should provide opportunities to study in English without requiring proficiency in German, one participant noted that this was not the only enticement offered to foreign students, arguing that universities also compete on price and by lowering their entry requirements.

More than 40% of the questionnaire respondents have encountered resistance to the growing use of English. Based on their comments, the reasons include “resentment, anger, fear of change”, “latent nationalism”, “faculty’s reluctance to teach/supervise in English”, and concerns “that German identity is threatened”. According to the responses, opposition to adoption of English as a second institutional language is based on German being the official language of administration (*“Amtsprache ist Deutsch”*) and national identity (*“Wir sind doch eine deutsche Hochschule”*). A further argument cited is that international students “should not be supported in not learning German”. Administrative staff, especially the older members, are also likely to feel resentful “if their English language skills are lacking”, or if the adoption of English increases their workload (“More English = more work”).

“People feel left alone and many who have been working here for ages are “suddenly” expected to speak English. There is also the impression that by caring too much for internationalisation (recruiting international students), German students are left out. Many haven’t been explained the concept how administration is going to be internationalised and doubt if there is one...”

This comment alludes to administrative staff feeling unsupported as they struggle to cope with demands thrust upon them by an internationalisation agenda that they feel no connection with.

It is important to remember that translators have a vested interest in a continued demand for their services, and are thus less likely to perceive English as a problem. It is notable, however, that translators who are native speakers of English are more likely to see English as supplanting German (53%/35).

Taken together, the findings confirm that the outcomes of translation are likely to reflect both “corporate Englishization” (Boussebaa, Sinha et al., 2014) and ‘Denglishisation’. The implications are discussed in Chapters 7 and 8.

6.4 Unintended consequences of translation

If institutions are “huge text-producing bureaucracies” (Koskinen, 2008, p. 49), then translation compounds this. The findings show that the task of translating the university has ripple effects in other areas.

Firstly, the process of translation can result in changes to the source texts. During the focus group session, it was suggested that translators could sometimes affect and improve the quality of documents in the original language, and this was confirmed by the questionnaire responses. Asked whether their work has led to any change in the content, structure or style of a source text, most of the respondents' examples related to style, structure, and the need to reduce ambiguity. These include "cases where we uncover errors (very frequently!)", "a general reduction in the density of German texts, reflecting my tendency to keep English texts as concise as possible", "(frequent) inconsistencies in the source text when translating", and the author revising the source text after queries about meaning raised by the translator.

Translation also directs attention to inconsistencies in the organisational language in German. One respondent adds the belief/hope that work on an English corporate language has raised awareness of the need for something similar in German. So, rather than having various German equivalents of "internship semester" ("*Praxisphase*", "*Praxissemester*", "*Praktikumssemester*", and "*praktisches Semester*") there could be just one. Thus, the efforts of translators to standardise terminology and style for English-language texts may tap a latent need for similar measures in German. As a further example, the inclusion of '*Dozent*' in the German-English terminology list at the DHBW has been challenged, not because the suggested translations were thought to be incorrect, but because some take the view that it lacks precision. This has led to calls for the word '*Dozent*' to be purged from administrative documents and the German-language website. Again, we find the influence of linguistic prescriptivism.

A third type of ripple effect is when discussions about inconsistencies expose differences in practices and attitudes, which in turn provokes further discussion. This can have a positive effect, but also be time consuming. One translator's anecdote about a whole day being spent by university leaders at one institution on the topic of how to translate '*Fakultät*' is an illustration of this.

Finally, as noted above, by replacing contested German terms with vague or innocuous English ones, translation can be used to fudge issues or to pander to egos in organisations mired in conflict.

7 Discussion

Introduction

This chapter revisits the theories and concepts presented in the literature review, discussing them in light of the findings.

It is divided into four sections. The first considers how organisational rationales for translation, translators' beliefs about higher education 'linguacultures', and practices in branding, labelling, and localisation further our understanding of neo-institutional concepts of legitimacy, rationalised myths, and loose-coupling. The second focuses on actor dynamics: the roles of visible and invisible identity workers in higher education, and aspects of power and status that affect the construction and regulation of organisational identity. The third deals with translation management, considering how recruitment and work-flow processes relate to language planning and considerations of quality and cost.

The chapter concludes by weighing up the factors that either promote or inhibit sector-wide convergence in the L2 representation of German HEIs.

7.1 Language, legitimacy and organisational identity

7.1.1 International visibility through English

From a neo-institutional perspective, an organisation's identity is the outcome of identity conflicts arising from competing institutional logics and isomorphic pressures arising from pressure to secure legitimacy. To become a legitimate member of the global higher education club, universities need to be able to demonstrate internationality. This encourages universities in non-Anglophone countries to adopt English as an institutional language.

The findings confirm that this is happening by default in German HEIs. Indeed, the factors driving the demand for translation services correspond to those associated with the shift to English in higher education in general: increased competition, the pressure of rankings, the expansion of global higher education networks and strategic partnerships, the introduction of EMI programmes, and the need to enhance international visibility.

Demand for translation is shown to be highest in the *Universitäten*. This could be due to a stronger research focus and the pressure to publish in English. They may also

have more resources to devote to translation, although the evidence suggests that the size of institution is less significant than its international orientation. Demand is also strong in HEIs lacking a long and established tradition, yet old enough to have experienced NPM reforms. With neither the prestige of tradition nor the cachet of modernity, developing an international profile is an opportunity to gain legitimacy.

The findings also show that the organisational units most likely to require translation services are those involved in internationalisation, marketing and communications, where the main targeted audiences are students (postgraduates and undergraduates), researchers and grant-awarding bodies. The growth in demand for translation is indicated by the wide range of English language texts required. Generally, the wider the scope of parallel (German-English) texts, the better the ability of the organisation to switch chameleon-like between languages. Thus, the university's corpus of translated texts can be seen as a measure of the extent to which it has become truly bilingual, if not international.

Increased efforts in international marketing include a headlong rush to develop English-language websites. What seems to be unique in Germany, however, is the extent of networking and coordination amongst university translators. Further investigation might reveal why Germany is at the forefront in this regard.

Through these activities, translators develop knowledge of academic systems and professional practices associated with the corporate world. Furthermore, they are more likely to identify with their profession than with a university with which they have only loose ties, especially if do freelance work for more than one university. Both factors testify to the permeability of organisational boundaries in higher education, and to the notion of universities as 'penetrated hierarchies'.

7.1.2 Linguacultural scripts and symbolic capital

The two competing templates normally associated with higher education are the 'academic' and the 'corporate'. In the German context we can add a further pair: the German and Anglo-Saxon 'models' or 'myths' (Ash, 2006), or indeed scripts. The language and culture associated with universities in English speaking countries can this be seen as a linguacultural script adopted by some members of German universities in pursuit of international legitimacy. Whether such a script exists matters less than the underlying assumptions and the process by which it is constructed.

When translators say that in English the university comes across as "less rigid", "more approachable", "sleeker", "friendlier", "more contemporary", and "more akin to large-scale education institutions in England", they may be betraying their own

views on how they would like the university to come across. jThese views may rest on assumptions about differences between academic cultures, assumptions that are themselves shaped by translators' linguistic and educational backgrounds. The findings show, for example, that German-speakers tend to feel more at home with British rather than American English, and are more familiar with the English higher education system. Furthermore, while translators with an English-speaking background are more likely to see the university building on its German traditions, those with a German-speaking background are more likely to notice the adoption of British/American traditions. This can be explained by a tendency to notice differences rather than similarities when comparing with one's own experience.

The translators' beliefs alone give few clues as to whether a particular linguacultural script is gaining ground across the sector. However, the website analysis confirms that the shift to English is pervasive enough to affect even the German source texts, where Anglicisms denoting higher education concepts and traditions imported from English-speaking countries were found to be mostly of Type 3 ("encroaching in English"). However, manifestations of 'Denglish' point more to hybridisation than an onslaught.

The orientation towards a global or local linguacultural script is illustrated by universities insisting on a particular variant of English. The choice is usually between BE and AE, although 'international' and 'neutral' English are also mentioned. Factors cited by the translators as influencing the choice include historical/path dependency, strategic partnerships, funding guidelines, being 'European', and personal preferences. While the questionnaire responses suggest that universities tend to prefer BE to AE in their English texts, the findings from the website analysis show a more even split. Even where there is an explicit policy, usage varies in practice. Only a few of the universities investigated market themselves as distinctively American (or British), and even here there is a lack of consistency. Overall, the impression is of webpages translated by different translators, and a blurring of linguacultural scripts.

The revival of the cap-and-gown tradition in graduation ceremonies, as illustrated in the findings, can be construed as Anglicisation, but is better understood as a re-import of symbolic capital. Ironically, it was in the medieval universities of Europe that such traditions began, so practices often referred to pejoratively as 'Anglicisation' (or Englishisation) may have their roots in those very countries thought to be on the receiving end. Similarly, the degree titles 'Bachelor' and 'Master' have their origins in Latin and the medieval universities, only to be transferred back to the continent. Commenting on the re-adoption of titles in relation to symbolic capital, Ash (2006) wonders whether adopting these names is "a master stroke, so to speak, or one of the biggest mistakes in the history of higher education policy" (p. 259).

A similar point can be made about the English language itself, which is thought to have evolved from the dialects of Germanic settlers of various ethnicities arriving in Britain in the 5th century, and the subsequent influx of other Norman, French, Greek, and other languages (Crystal, 2005). These dialects of the Germanic settlers themselves contained Latin loan words. Thus, from a linguistic perspective, the post-colonial depiction of Anglicisation and Englishisation as ‘linguistic imperialism’ is less convincing in a European context.

For the DHBW VS, with its dual professional-academic identity, the adoption of the cap-and-gown can be understood in terms of academic drift (vertical differentiation). Significantly, the change came from the students themselves. The university staff tolerate it, if reluctantly, and there are signs of resistance from students, especially the more socially critical ones. It remains to be seen whether the faculty eventually join in, and whether the university management seizes the opportunity to forge greater identification with the university brand, for example by introducing hoods and gowns with the university livery.

7.1.3 Loose coupling and ‘Etikettenschwindel’

Attempts to capitalise on the cachet of a language (‘prestige planning’ in the language policy literature) need to be reconciled with other demands. In particular, where the need to demonstrate internationality collides with other organisational pressures, the use of English as a marker of internationality is likely to be ceremonious, or only ‘loosely coupled’ with practice. The investigation identified three ways in which English is used in German HEIs as organisational window-dressing.

The first relates to branding, and the use (or non-use) of English in the university name for purposes of emulation and differentiation. The (*Fach-*)*hochschulen*, for example, appear to be emulating higher status institutions by adopting the English ‘university’ label (academic drift), while some *Universitäten* respond by eschewing the word ‘university, even in their English-language guise, in order to distinguish themselves from the arrivistes. At the same time, by jettisoning the ‘celebrated scholar prefix’ in the English version, the *Universitäten* seem to be conforming to conventions in English-speaking countries.

Related to this are labelling practices that create an illusion of internationality or compliance with accreditation requirements, both of which can be seen in terms of decoupling (Meyer and Rowan 1977) or organisational hypocrisy (Brunsson, 1989). Findings include the adoption of English titles for German-taught courses and the relabelling of language courses as content courses. These examples also accord with the concept of *transmutation*, one of the four “transformative processes” described by

Pedersen and Dobbin (2006), whereby organisations reconcile the need to appear distinctive with the need to conform. In *transmutation*, current forms and practices are invested with new meaning without changing the content. This is illustrated by the attempt to rescue the programme *Mittleständische Wirtschaft* by renaming it ‘Digital Business Management’. ‘Digital’ adds distinction, and ‘management’ elevates the status. It remains to be seen whether, by disguising the focus on SMEs, the programme gains wider appeal.

It was also suggested that internal conflicts can be masked or defused by substituting contentious German labels with innocuous or ambiguous English ones. Similarly, translation can be used to inflate or deflate status (visiting professor / casual lecturer, administrator / secretary) and to create the impression of either an ancient tradition (dean, rector, provost) or something contemporary and business-like (department head, programme manager). Where a German designation is rejected as too provincial or not sufficiently cosmopolitan, this could be a form of ‘cultural cringe’, a term coined by Phillips (2005) to refer to a sense of inferiority he noticed in Australians.

The use of English labels would constitute false labelling (*Etikettenschwindel*) if the intention is to mislead, for example for purposes of student recruitment. Even so, it is not necessarily the student who is misled. In the case of English titles for German-taught courses, a student might welcome the opportunity to give the impression, for example on a CV, that the course was taught in English. The student is thus invited to collude in the deception, and it is the recipient of the CV who might be misled.

The third way in which universities use translation for profiling and positioning is through practices of localisation or transcreation (Rike, 2013; Madison and Brenn-White, 2014). This involves making adjustments to the English text/translation so that the university is presented in a more positive light, usually with a view to boosting student recruitment. If the aim is to capitalise on the university’s tradition of prestige, the translator may choose not to translate concepts and names specific to that university’s identity. Such choices are usually at the discretion of the translator, the implications of which are discussed below.

7.2 Visible and invisible identity workers

7.2.1 *Overlapping roles*

The investigation identified various groups of actors involved in higher education translation, all of whom contribute to the construction and regulation of organisational identity. They are not usually recognised as ‘identity workers’ as such, and their role

in translation may be invisible. External providers of translation services and in-house translators are rarely seen. The invisible translators include, developers of CAT tools, web designers whose work entails localisation, staff members who translate on an informal basis, and those who acquire, or who have thrust upon them, the role of interpreter or ‘chaperone’. Consultants who offer expertise in higher education translation and marketing to international audiences constitute a further group of identity workers, and their role is likely to grow. Yet, it is usually a non-linguist who has the last word in high-stakes translation choices relating to organisational identity.

It is important to note that translator roles frequently overlap, with actors increasingly interconnected through expert communities such as university translator networks and bodies that coordinate higher education at the *Länder* level. Thus, their professional values may transcend group identification, and we cannot assume that they feel affinity to any particular organisation.

The findings also reveal that in-house translators rarely ‘just translate’. Their duties may extend to organisational development and representation through various types of identity work: lexicography (German-English terminology lists to promote consistency in the university’s corporate language), quality assurance (proofreading, promoting standards in communication with international audiences), project management (liaising with external providers), publishing (editing, adapting, authoring), and coaching and intercultural training for staff. These are all observable features of identity regulation, albeit happening in an unregulated fashion. Duties not specified in a job description but accrued over time tend to go unacknowledged, although lack of recognition does not necessarily diminish a translator’s influence.

7.2.2 Power, status and identity construction

The findings illustrate the power of translators to add or take away from the texts that they work on, and by extension the organisations they work for.

The higher education environment poses special challenges to translators, who find that their choices are more likely to be questioned with this type of client than with others. Who has the final say in disputes about high-stakes HE terminology depends on their negotiating power, which is likely to be influenced by their linguistic and educational background, their occupational status, the weight of the translation, and how they see their own role, for example as gatekeeper of standards, or as a cultural mediator between the source and target text.

As the findings show, university translators include native and non-native speakers in roughly equal proportions. Most have higher education experience and relevant

qualifications, but a significant proportion do not, especially those with an English-speaking background. Those with a German-speaking background are more likely to have full-time positions, and to have their translation choices accepted. When challenged, however, they are less likely to get their way. A possible explanation for this paradox is that the native English speakers experience more challenges to their choices because it is assumed they lack familiarity with the German system, yet their native speaker status gives them more confidence to defend their choices.

Those with a German-speaking background are the strongest advocates of standardisation and ‘neutral’ or ‘international’ English. It could be that, having grown up with spelling and orthography rules set by the *Rat für deutsche Rechtschreibung (RdR)*, they are more accustomed to linguistic prescriptivism, and therefore less tolerant of ambiguity. Some translators with an English-speaking background fear that standardisation might impoverish language, and question the existence of international English. In general, the consensus favours standardisation, a finding that is discussed below in connection with sector-wide convergence.

The findings confirm increased professionalism and attention to quality, with translators contributing their expertise from the corporate world. Translators’ queries are shown to have a ‘washback effect’, leading to improvements in the source texts and greater attention to consistency in HE terminology, this being one of the unintended consequences of translation. The increased professionalism can be seen as a manifestation a wider response to competitive pressures in German higher education, as discussed in Chapter 4

The findings also show how a translator’s strategies for dealing with contested terms impinge on how aspects of identity are communicated. These ‘flashpoints’ typically relate to titles (status issues), pre-Bologna terms (question of relevance), legal terms (different systems), and concepts not existing outside Germany (culture). The negotiation of meaning is also of interest because it reveals different understandings of labels, and the assumptions and sensitivities attached to them. By identifying an organisation’s translation flashpoints, we can begin to explore not only the tensions arising from different organisational, institutional or national cultures, but also the micro-level tensions within a particular organisation. Furthermore, the passions aroused by finer shades of meaning can be understood in terms of Freud’s thesis (1930) about ‘the narcissism of small differences’, explaining why groups that are so similar argue so much about what separates them.

Where the work of translators is invisible, unsupervised, or under the radar, it poses reputational risks that suggest a need for translation management.

7.3 Challenges in translation management

7.3.1 *Distorting mirrors and work-in-progress*

The comparison of German university webpages with their English translations shows that very few achieve the gold standard of equivalency. Introductory pages aimed at showcasing the university tend to be the most polished, but as one clicks through the site, the façade of Englishness crumbles.

The analysis revealed pages at different stages of completion, ranging from an announcement that the translation is “under construction”, to purpose-written pages for an international audience. Matches were found to be closest where text is kept to the minimum and images are identical.

The analysis also shows that, regardless of how successful a translation is in terms of *skopus*, the desired mirror-image effect is unattainable due to distortions arising from technology and inherent differences in the nature of language. The use of templates (in the publishing sense) produces distortions that are incidental rather than accidental or strategic. Website texts, for example, are usually written within the confines of a template designed to corporate identity specifications. Yet the English translation might not fit into that template, for example because of factors adding to text length, such as the agglutinative nature of the German language and the need to clarify certain concepts. Thus, the requirement to use an identical template produces the visual effect of a distorting mirror when comparing source and target texts. If the English text has to be pruned, the message itself might be curtailed. Where the English translations appear shorter rather than longer, this is usually due to work in progress or a preference for a concise style.

Thus, in order to minimise ‘inadvertent’ distortions and ensure that translation work is efficient and aligned to organisational goals, attention needs to be paid to translation management.

7.3.2 *Room for improvement*

While translation management is still in its infancy, there is growing recognition of the need for institutional policies and greater investment in managing translation projects, quality assurance, and support for professional development.

Institutional policy on website translation varies, and is often ad hoc. Budgets alone may determine priorities for translation, which may explain the impression of unevenness in websites, with some pages fully translated, others not at all.

The level of skill and experience required for high-quality translation tends to be underestimated, and although the number of in-house translators has increased, contracts tend to be short-term and there is continued reliance on external providers and unofficial translators. The in-house translators therefore have little time to familiarise themselves with the organisation, its structures and its culture, and when leave, they take with them any institutional knowledge they have acquired on the job. Where agencies are used, there may be a revolving door of translators, depending on supply and demand. As a result, consistency in standards cannot be assured, and there is a risk to competitiveness if knowledge or expertise is leaked from the organisation. On the other hand, using a combination of external and internal translators can encourage the diffusion of ideas, standards and practices across the sector.

The value of clearly defined work-flow processes and lines of communication is also evident. Considerations of cost and speed often prevail over quality, which can be a false economy. A freelancer paid by the word who is asked to translate a lengthy text that could be shortened and improved by eliminating irrelevant content has neither the authority nor the incentive to do so, even if it would save money for the organisation.

As we have seen, sub-standard translations undermine efforts to convey an image of quality and professionalism, creating a reputational risk for the organisation. This raises the question of whether no translation is better than a bad translation. Most readers forgive the occasional typo or infelicity, but their goodwill might be strained by language errors, gaps in information, and being redirected to German pages. Having the text professionally translated and proofread before publication avoids this.

With regard to professional development, support can be found in style guidelines for university staff and translators writing for an English audience. Some of this advice is worthy but questionable. A common message is that the English texts should be written in a simpler style and with more images, on the grounds that readers are likely to be non-native speakers. Such recommendations imply, without evidence, that Germans prefer long blocks of texts and complicated language. Also, we have seen that a text scoring high on readability is not necessarily the most appropriate for a university website, where the audience can be assumed to be linguistically proficient. Furthermore, there is a mistaken assumption that non-native speakers find long words more difficult to understand than short words, and Romance words more difficult than those with Anglo-Saxon roots. Yet the relevance of this Romance/Anglo-Saxon distinction is questionable if we do not know the reader's L1, which could be anything from Mandarin to Hungarian. Indeed, a learner of English might be more likely to guess the meaning of the word 'uninteresting' (five syllables), than the one-

syllable ‘dull’. These issues of style and clarity raise the question of how much simplification is needed before a text becomes patronising or ‘dumbed down’.

A final point relating to translation management is the threat of organisational resistance. Little evidence was found of resistance to translation, although several translators complain that despite its far-reaching effects, it is not properly recognised as a central university service. With regard to the role of English, the translators interviewed do not share the critical stance towards Anglicisation characterising much of the literature. On the contrary, they see English as belonging to the world, not ‘owned’ by particular English-speaking countries, a view that is perhaps understandable given that translators have a vested interest in the demand for English. Yet there are also members of staff who refuse to accept English as an *Amtssprache*. This rejection could be interpreted as a reflection of the public mood, but may also point to fear of change. The translators’ comments indicate that for many university employees, more English means more work without support. The responses of non-academic staff in universities to the pressure to use English could therefore be a fruitful area of further research.

7.4 Convergence and divergence

Several developments in university translation can be identified as promoting sector-wide convergence in German higher education, but there are caveats.

The professionalisation of university translation encourages the diffusion and adoption of common standards, practices and terminology, and is thus a source of normative pressure (Brunsson, Rasche et al., 2012, p. 618). An indicator of this is the emergence of sector-wide translator networks that operate as communities of experts. Translators generally favour standardisation of HE terminology on the grounds that it would facilitate their work and the mobility of students and staff, and create greater consistency in their own university’s corporate identity language and in terminology across the sector. Such efforts are now supported at the state level in Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg, a response that can be seen in light of the model postulated by Tolbert and Zucker (1983) for the adoption of standards, whereby a process beginning with a need for efficiency becomes “over time a process rooted in conformity through institutional definition” (p. 36).

Greater efficiency, of course, does not automatically improve quality. As one translator writes, “something decided by a board of German native speakers will always come up with a sub-optimal result”. Furthermore, attempts at standardisation are futile as long as there is a lack of consistency in the German higher education

terminology, which varies not only across the *Länder* but also within institutions, and efforts to introduce binding terminology lists will be confounded in the absence of any authority to enforce them. This points to the general ‘unmanageability’ of language, where linguistic prescriptivism usually fails with regard to English.

Voluntary standardisation that comes about as a result of pooling expertise and terminology databanks could, however, outstrip attempts to standardise German terminology, especially given the differences in HE systems across the *Länder*. This reinforces the likelihood of German universities looking increasingly similar in their English language guises over time.

The publication of style guides intended for translators and university staff who communicate in English could promote a more homogenised style of representation, to the extent that advice about ‘international English’ and the KISS principle is followed. Yet, as others have argued, ‘international English’ is an ill-defined notion, and a ‘short and simple’ style is not necessarily appropriate style for an academic audience. Furthermore, this may conflict with language policies aimed at preserving aspects of national/institutional identity, or at projecting a particular image of the university. Specifying that institution-specific names should remain untranslated would be example of a language policy promoting differentiation.

Style guides for organisational texts in English encourage a greater use of images at the expense of text, which could produce a bland, generic look especially where copyright-free stock photos are used. If the same policy is not adopted for German texts, this will contribute to the impression of two separate identities.

Innovations in translating tools may have further isomorphic effects. With the growing reliance on translation memory software, not only terms and phrases but also complete texts can be stored and exchanged between universities. Such innovations could encourage the re-use of identical texts across the sector, again making German universities appear more similar in English than they do in German.

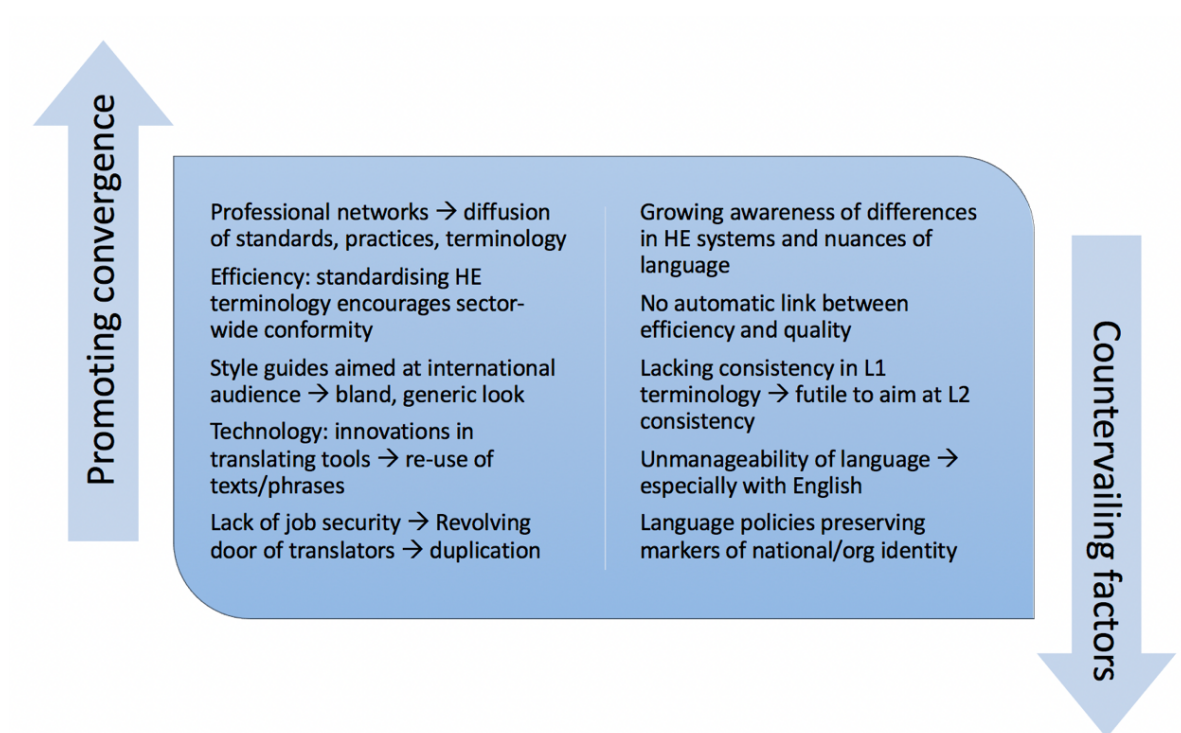
Despite the growing professional nature of translation work, employment conditions remain precarious. In-house contracts tend to be time-limited and with few perks, and there is continued dependence on external translators, who may be providing services to more than one university. A revolving door of translators is likely to result in terminology lists being transferred from one university to another, and in translated texts being duplicated to achieve efficiencies, thus promoting further convergence.

Finally, as we have seen, translators are keen to make use of their networks to discuss possible solutions to ‘flashpoints’. One might expect such discussions to increase

sensitivity to finer nuances of meaning, contextual factors, and differences between academic cultures, and therefore temper any drive to standardise terminology across the sector. However, this would require further investigation.

The findings with regard to translation and isomorphism are summarised in Figure 7.0 below.

Figure 7.1 – Translation and isomorphism



8 Conclusions

The aim of my study was to investigate how English distorts the self-representation of German HEIs, and to consider the implications for organisational profiling and positioning. This chapter reprises the main themes and grounds them in the light of the findings. It is divided into four sections.

The first section constitutes a response to the inquiry. It revisits the three research questions, summarising the findings with reference to three types of distortion and the unintended consequences of translation.

The second section reflects on these findings. It takes stock of what the thesis has achieved, drawing together the various themes, summarising the contributions and limitations of the study, and reflecting on the research process.

The third section consists of recommendations for management, based on the findings and aimed at practitioners involved in identity work, translation management, and language policy.

The fourth and final section deals with the research implications, suggesting viable directions into which future research might go.

8.1 Response

RQ1: Who are the actors involved in higher education translation, and how does their work relate to organisational self-representation?

The investigation reveals both visible and invisible actors involved in HE translation whose work contributes to the construction and regulation of organisational identity. The actors include external providers of translation services, professional in-house translators (some in hybrid roles), coordinators of translation projects, university staff who translate on an informal or unrecognised basis, developers of CAT tools, web designers whose work involves localisation, and staff members acting as linguistic or cultural interpreters. Those who have the last word in high-stakes terminology choices tend to be non-linguists, but consultancies with expertise in HE translation and marketing could play a significant role in future.

Roles and duties overlap. For example, in-house translator may have duties involving identity work in areas related to organisational development and representation. These include quality assurance, project management, lexicography, post-translation editing, publishing, coaching and intercultural training. By helping to shape the L2 institutional identity, they act as cultural mediators. Added to this are unofficial

translators such as international officers whose work requires the ability to switch easily between languages.

Due to the insatiable demand for translation arising from the ‘abroad’ and ‘at home’ dimensions of the internationalisation agenda, there is an increasing number of salaried translator posts. However, universities continue to rely on external translators and on staff members whose job description does not include translation. This increases the risk of ‘accidental distortions’ in translation.

Various factors affect translation outcomes: the institutional language policy, the level of resources devoted to managing translation projects, translators’ status in the organisation, and the extent to which their choices are affected by personal characteristics such as their linguistic and educational background, their knowledge of higher education systems, and their professional values and beliefs. While translation management is still in its infancy, it is developing rapidly. Indeed, there is a move away from strict translation of texts devised for a domestic audience to purpose-written English texts for an international audience. The risk is that translators who aim at a ‘neutral’ or ‘international’ style of writing might produce a text that appears simplistic, bland or simply odd compared to the German original.

A notable finding is the extent of collaboration between translators, who are interconnected through expert communities (university translator networks) and who meet online and at conferences. This collaboration extends beyond national borders into Switzerland and Austria, and has led to bodies that coordinate HE translation matters at the *Länder* level. Such activities are likely to raise the standard of higher education translation, although efforts to standardise terminology across the sector could result in markers of organisational or national distinctiveness being lost, thus creating the illusion that the sector is more homogeneous than it really is.

RQ2: In what ways can translation into English have a distorting effect on how German universities represent themselves, and what are the mitigating factors?

Three types of distorting effects can be identified from the findings: incidental, accidental, and instrumental. The first two are both inadvertent, so relate to RQ2.

The incidental distortions are those that are unintended but difficult to avoid, for example due to inherent differences between the languages. English translations take up more space than the German source text where compound nouns are split up and untranslated German terms require clarification. If the translation then needs to be pruned to fit a given template, some of the message gets lost.

Another type of incidental distortion can be attributed to language change, such as a shift to a particular variety of English. A text written using a particular model of English (AE/BE) might unwittingly give the impression of alignment with a particular linguaculture or higher education system. As mentioned above, a consensus amongst translators in favour of standardising English HE terminology could have the knock-on effect of making German HEIs appear more similar to one another in English than in German.

A ramification of language change that serves as a mitigating factor is the adoption of Anglicisms (English loan words), where the dissonance between the German source text and the English translation is reduced to the extent that the former is already Anglicised. However, it should be noted that the term ‘Anglicisation’ is somewhat of a misnomer in this context given the Germanic roots of the English language.

Accidental distortions occur as a result of deficiencies, for example if a translation is substandard, incomplete, or missing altogether. Errors and omissions not only impede the message, but undermine the organisation’s efforts to convey an impression of quality and professionalism. Accidental distortions are usually avoidable, but tend to escape the management radar given that managers are unlikely to be linguists. An obvious remedy is translation management, as a form of quality assurance. A lack of attention to this is likely to result in texts that are not fit for purpose, thus exposing the organisation to reputational risks.

RQ3: How are German universities using English for purposes of organisational positioning/profiling, both in their domestic and international contexts?

The strategic use of English by policy-makers to enhance the organisation’s profile and thus secure positional advantage represents a deliberate or instrumental distortion. Examples can be found in practices of branding, labelling and localisation, where English is used for profiling (international visibility, appearing more cosmopolitan), positioning (institutional differentiation through the ‘*Universität*’/‘university’ brand), loose coupling (English titles for German-taught courses), camouflage (language courses disguised as content courses), title inflation, and obfuscation, for example in response to internal conflict.

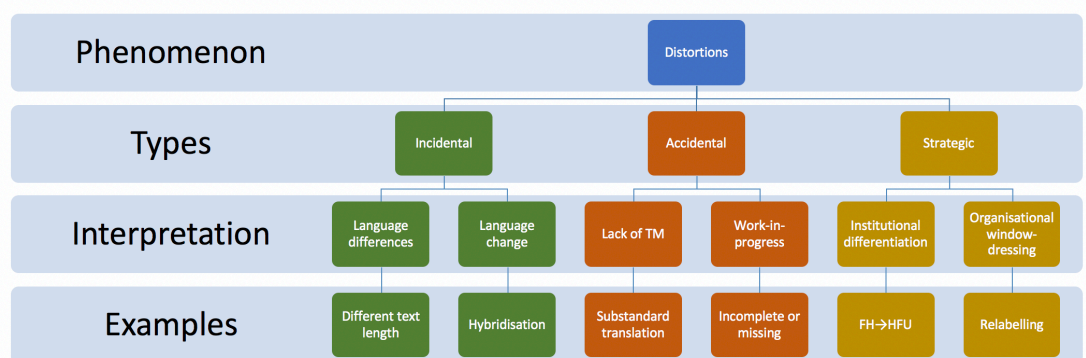
These all constitute forms of organisational window-dressing aimed at securing or gaining legitimacy, but carry the risk of creating false expectations. A university that represents itself in English but conducts its main activities in German can be likened to a Potemkin village that on closer inspection turns out to be a façade.

It is claimed that the retention of the ‘*Universität*’ label by some of the older universities is an attempt to set themselves apart from the arriviste *Fachhochschulen*

who get away with describing themselves as ‘university’. If so, it can be interpreted as a kind of linguistic one-upmanship, but also a reflection of confidence and national pride.

The main types of distortion, based on findings from all three RQs are summarised in Figure 8.1 below.

Figure 8.1 –Three types of distortion in translation



Unintended consequences

The translation process is shown to have wider ripple effects on the organisation.

One of these is the sheer amount of new text generated when an organisation seeks to clone itself in its L2, and the requirement to present texts in binary form (English/German) presents a new challenge for document managers. This is likely to be even greater in the case of HEIs aspiring to be trilingual.

The translation process itself acts as a catalyst for discussion about organisational labels, especially in relation to titles and functions, and this in turn raises awareness of differences between higher education systems and academic cultures. When controversies over titles become heated, they can reveal anxieties about status, or hint at the existence of deeper organisational conflicts, fought through proxy language battles. Expressions of resentment about the adoption of English could be seen as a reflection of the public mood, or fears about organisational change.

Such discussions can have positive outcomes. They focus attention on what is, or could be, distinctive about the organisation, and may signal a need for change management. A further knock-on effect of the translation process is to re-direct attention to the quality of the source texts, for example the need for consistency in the German corporate identity language.

The findings suggest that if importance is attached to minimising the dissonance between German and English representations, and to avoiding false expectations, identity management needs to be tied in with translation management.

8.2 Reflections on the contributions of this thesis

The linguistic turn in the organisational identity literature has directed attention to language use and policy, the relationship between language, culture and organisational change, and the organisational implications of linguacultural trends associated with globalisation (cultural homogenisation and English as a *lingua franca*). To date, these studies have been situated in either the management literature, which focuses on language planning, or in the critical/postcolonial literature, which is concerned with language politics, Anglicisation and linguistic imperialism. My own study straddles these two areas while maintaining the focus on organisational identity.

It takes its cue from Alvesson and Robertson (2016) in that it offers a process-oriented view of organisational identity, pays close attention to the links between politics, power and culture, and avoids focusing on organisations that are either celebrated or notorious. My criteria for choosing organisations is instead based on a variety of institutional types and the opportunity to immerse myself in one for deeper analysis. Going further, I have taken a postmodern approach by treating organisations as texts and by foregrounding the role of the translators as authors and identity workers in (would-be) bilingual organisations.

Using German universities as exemplars of highly-institutionalised, internationally-oriented organisations, my thesis contributes to theory and practice in higher education management in several ways. Firstly, it looks at how organisational identity is treated in multilingual contexts, drawing attention to the role of translators/translation in organisational identity construction, regulation and representation, and in doing so it also identifies a shift away from translation to *transcreation*. It also shows how a consensus favouring sector-wide standardisation can emerge through a community of experts. Furthermore, it draws attention to the instrumental use of L2 for profiling and positioning, relating this to neo-institutional theories of legitimacy, rationalised myths and loose-coupling. Finally, it demonstrates the value of translation management and offers practical recommendations (Section 8.3). Thus, my study shows not only why German universities look different in English (distortions that maybe accidental, incidental and instrumental), but also that it matters, especially where such distortions create reputational, financial, socio-cultural and strategic risks.

More generally, this thesis shows linkages between the institutionalisation of translation management and the growing attention to profiling and positioning, thus illustrating the increased level of professionalism with which German universities are asserting themselves on the international stage.

The study also introduces four innovative research methods: 1. the use of visual images of past and present organisational rituals as prompts for discussions of change; 2. the comparative analysis of translated websites to examine distortions in organisational representation, 3. a coding system for measuring degrees of language shift in translated texts, and 4. the notion of flashpoints in translation as an analytical tool for understanding organisational and institutional tensions.

It is also important to point out the limitations of this thesis. It began with the tentative hypothesis that different types of institution resemble each other more closely in English than in German. The study found strong evidence of factors conducive to isomorphism, e.g. the networking activities of university translators across Germany, attempts to coordinate HE translation at the *Länder* level, but the findings are inconclusive and call for further investigation (see Section 8.4 below).

Furthermore, certain groups of actors are underrepresented in the study. For example, the findings indicate that universities continue to rely on agencies and freelancers, yet these groups are more difficult to reach, especially if they do not belong to a translator community, and so their views and perspectives are underreported. I also had limited access to leaders and academics in other universities who would have been a key source of information for RQ3. Indeed, there were few opportunities for me to use the questions and prompts I had prepared for interviews with university managers (APPENDIX K), mainly due to lack of access.

Finally, my study investigates the role of translation in universities that aspire to become bilingual. However, since I am neither bilingual nor a professional translator, this limits my ability to judge the quality of translations.

8.3 Recommendations for management practice

The investigation finds evidence of a lack of management, but also examples of good practice. This section offers recommendations to higher education practitioners in universities in non-Anglophone countries with regard to aspects of identity management and translation management.

8.3.1 Managing identity

Branding and labelling

Knowing when not to translate is an acquired skill, but guidelines can be incorporated in the translation policy. The practice of retaining the German name in texts and adding an explanation or translation in English helps to familiarise the reader with the (German) corporate identity language, and to counterbalance any loss of identity arising in translation. This would constitute a middle way between the strategies of ‘foreignisation’ and ‘domestication’. Caution is needed with English labels for German-taught courses because this may mislead people into thinking the course is actually taught in German. If translations of German titles are required, a clarification should be added that the course is taught in German.

Style guides

There are now many excellent guides for university staff who need to communicate in English with international audiences, and much of the advice is also useful for the German texts. However, care should be taken with advice advocating the use of ‘easy English’. A text scoring high on readability is not necessarily the most appropriate for an audience with high expectations of the academic standing of the institution. There is no reason to fear that readers will be put off by ‘long words’. Indeed, a text that appears too simplistic could be dismissed as patronising or ‘dumbed down’.

Corporate identity in English

As mentioned above translators need guidelines not only with regard to the preferred model of English (BE/AE), but also the preferred style for the target readership. The choice of model should be based on the higher education system with which the university is most likely to want to align itself. Ideally, universities should decide on a particular model of English, and encourage members of staff to stick to it in order to reduce inconsistency and anomalies in the way the university is represented. In the absence of an authority to ensure compliance, inconsistencies can still be minimised through translation management.

8.3.2 Managing quality in translation

Processes

The first step in managing quality in translation is to define what is meant by ‘fit-for-purpose’: This involves clarifying the purpose (what/who/why), then deciding on standards and procedures that ensure the best fit within the constraints of time and

money. There is no one-fits-all solution that can work for all types of university, only general principles that should be followed in any situation.

- Clear priorities as to what gets translated
- Clear procedures, e.g. a translation is only proofread once,
- Clear lines of communication, e.g. one contact person
- Suitable resources (style guides, CAT tools) to ensure consistency in terminology and a uniform institutional style

There may be a temptation to publish information in English quickly, but no translation is better than a bad one where reputation is at stake. Ideally, the same publishing standards should apply to the translation as to the original. Inevitably, this means a time delay while the translation is professionally translated and proofread.

Recruitment

The findings show that many translators are involved in organisational development and representation in ways that go beyond ‘just translating’, especially those working in-house and on secure contracts. This ensures continuity and familiarity with the university’s structures, functions and academic cultures, and contributes to more effective knowledge management. Drawing from these findings, the following measures are recommended.

- Recognition of translation as a university function
- Salaried and secure posts for in-house translators
- Strict requirements for professional qualifications (translator training) and higher education experience, including the ability to switch flexibly between variants and registers of English.

Where supplementary work is given to external providers it is also important to have someone in-house responsible for coordination and managing the work-flow process. The process of recruiting a university translator involves first drafting a job description (scope of tasks and required skill-sets), and then a profile of the ideal candidate (the person specification) for the post. Based on the analysis of the job advertisements, the questionnaire findings and other sources of data, the range of tasks, skill sets and personal attributes that may be required of an in-house university translator are summarised below in Tables 8.1 and 8.2 respectively. These can be used as reference when creating an advertisement for a post.

Table 8.1 –Tasks and skill-sets required of a university translator (job description)

Tasks and responsibilities	Skill-sets
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Needs analysis of university translation requirements Assessing and coordinating the needs of individual departments Liaising with external translators 	Project management and coordination
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Using, developing and adapting translation tools and software (e.g. Translation Memory Software/Systems) 	Technical
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Creating, maintaining and contributing to the development of a bilingual or multilingual glossary for the university 	Lexicographic
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Translating top-level ('<i>hoheitliche</i>') administrative documents Translating for the faculties (academic articles, abstracts, applications for research funding) Translating for service providers (e.g. international office, marketing and communications, non-academic units) 	Translation (general and specialist)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Developing and maintaining style guides Producing edited versions of German texts in English Authoring English language texts for marketing and internal communication purposes 	Authoring and publishing
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Revising and updating previously translated documents Proofreading translations from internal and external providers Maintaining/developing quality standards for professional communication in an international context, and within the organisation 	Quality assurance Quality control
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Advising university staff on translation-related matters Responding to internal queries about translation and terminological issues Sensitising university staff about the need to apply international standards when representing the university to its external audiences 	Giving advice, expertise and training
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interpreting (between languages) International communication in connection with applications for research funding (e.g. applications) 	Interpersonal and mediation

Source: own representation

Table 8.2 – Profile of the ideal university translator (person specification)

Language skills	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Proficiency German and English at native-speaker level Proficiency in a second foreign language (e.g. French, Spanish) Interpreting
Qualifications	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> University degree as a specialist translator in German-English-German (or equivalent) Desirable: Further relevant professional qualification, e.g. licensed, sworn or court-appointed translator
Experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Several years of working in higher education as a translator Experience of working abroad and/or in an international environment
Job knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Knowledge of academic administration Knowledge of university systems and structures Familiarity with relevant CAT translation tools (translation memory software, terminology management systems, machine translation)

Personal attributes and approach to work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability to work independently and in teams • Flexibility • Ability to work under pressure and meet strict deadlines • Customer-oriented / Client-oriented • Conscientious and meticulous approach to work
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Source: own representation

With regard to the selection process, the comparison of sample translations of a single source text confirms the value of comparing and evaluating candidates on the basis of a blind test, where even a short translation can provide useful clues as to a translator's suitability. When selecting external translators, plumping for the cheapest provider without consideration of quality can lead to greater costs in the long run, both financially and in terms of the potential for misrepresentation.

Strategies for dealing with flashpoints

Based on the findings, especially the outcome of the May 2018 conference (APPENDIX R), strategies for dealing with flashpoints are summarised as follows.

Table 8.3 – Strategies for dealing with flashpoints

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dealing with a flashpoint <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Method 1: Begin by brainstorming the contextual and linguistic factors. Then break down the word into its components (adjective, noun, ...) and consider the positive/negative connotations of each. The final choice should be based on which aspect needs to be focused on in the particular context. ○ Method 2: Begin with the source term and clarify the source and context in which it is used. Then collect four or five examples of competing translations. For each one, weigh up the pros and cons, with reference to their sources and contextual factors. The 'winner' has the most pros and the least cons. • Convincing staff members to use the terminology list <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Action plan: Before developing the list, consider who it is for, what exists already, financial resources, time constraints, obstacles, support, responsibility for the process, and how to publish and publicise it ○ Creating awareness: Once the list is ready, spread the word. Garner support from above, let staff know through various channels of communication (intranet, email, training or video tutorials, desk-top icon with link, meeting "drop ins"), and create guidelines for new staff
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Source: own representation

8.4 Research implications

This section concludes with suggestions for further research, based on my reflections about the contributions and limitations of this study, and my experience as a researcher.

My thesis considered whether institutional translation might play an isomorphic role. To investigate whether different types of organisation in the same institutional field resemble each other more closely in translation, cross-comparisons would be needed. This could involve a two-step approach whereby the researcher first compares the untranslated websites of two rival organisations in the same city (e.g. FAS and the Goethe Universität) to see how they position themselves in relation to one another, and then compares the corresponding translations. If the differences between the translated pages of each organisation are smaller than the differences between the untranslated pages, this would lend weight to the hypothesis. More generally, the research could be extended to other European countries for purposes of comparison.

Although demand for translation is growing, the findings show that universities are gravitating away from translation to purpose-written English texts, with translators accruing authorship duties while other members of staff in identity-related roles are required to work bilingually. This would be an area for researchers interested in role accretion and hybridisation, or in the shift to English in general.

A further topic for investigation would be the outsourcing of translation to agencies and freelancers. As mentioned above, the views and perspectives of these groups are underreported, so research could investigate the scale of outsourcing, and how this relates to the role of freelancers as identity workers in the ‘gig economy’, and to terminology standardisation resulting from reliance on translation memory software.

The findings show that translator networks contribute to sector-wide standardisation, and that translators are expected to promote international standards. However, it is not obvious what these international standards are. Further research could establish whether there is a consensus on these standards, and (if so) which linguacultural template they most closely reflect.

Research in the fields of institutional translation and organisational behaviour could build on insights and findings from my study in several ways. The roles of translators as technocrats, mediators, negotiators, gatekeepers and teachers warrant further investigation, and in particular the emerging role of ‘cultural chaperone’ that seems to be unique to higher education. A single case study an in-house university translation service would deepen our understanding of translators as identity workers at the ‘hub’ of the organisation, and could be approached from any of the perspectives outlined in

Chapter 1. For example, those who take a post-colonial view might want to explore the extent to which institutional translators function as a cadre in promoting “organizational Englishization” as conceptualised by Boussebaa and Brown (2017). Furthermore, the notion of ‘flashpoints in translation’ as an analytical tool for examining organisational and cultural tensions could be applied to other multilingual institutional settings, such as international non-governmental organisations.

Internationalisation agendas usually include both ‘abroad and ‘at home’ dimensions, but their relative importance can only be guessed at. An investigation into translation budgets (amounts, sources, how the budgets are allocated) could give an indication of how seriously universities take internationalisation, and also where the priorities lie.

There is a growing interest in ethical issues raised by internationalisation in higher education, and my investigation revealed two translation-related practices that invite research. The first relates to authorship. Some translators report that they support students in their academic work, whether by proofreading and editorial work (correcting mistakes, pruning, reformulating) or wholesale translation. In the case of the latter, the translator’s co-authorship may go unacknowledged. Even if a translator only proofreads, changes could still affect the student’s grade. Given the potential of translation to distort meaning and the requirement on students to declare professional help, this raises ethical issues for the translators and the students using their services. The second issue is that of ‘false labelling’. In the case of English labels for German-taught courses, this may create false expectations of a graduate more familiar with the relevant academic and professional terminology than is the case.

The responses of non-academic staff in universities to the pressure to use English could also be a fruitful avenue of research.

Organisational research carried out in English in bilingual or multilingual contexts can be affected by the level of language proficiency of the researcher and the participants. This raises the question of what measures should be taken to ensure validity of the data when the researcher is working in an L2 context, especially when participants have different levels of language proficiency. One way forward would be to conduct research in teams of native and non-native speakers. The topic of language shift in organisations would certainly benefit from such collaboration. In German universities, the shift seems to be towards Denglishisation rather than Anglicisation, raising the question of whether particular Denglish HE terms mean the same to a German speaker as to anyone else.

This thesis deals with the topic of ‘organisational identity’, a term well established in English-language journals. Yet attempting definition is like pinning jelly to a wall. A

useful test of the cogency of a concept is to see how well it withstands translation. DeepL Translate, a translation tool in vogue at the time of writing, suggests ‘*organisatorische Identität*’, yet this is not the one favoured in the German-speaking literature (*Organisationsidentität*), and might mean little to the layperson. Therefore, my final suggestion for a research project building on this thesis would be to examine how other neologisms in organisational and management studies survive translation.

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Appendix

APPENDIX A

German-English Glossary of Terms

Below are suggested translations or explanations of German terms used in the thesis. The list does not include terms where translations are contentious or highly context-sensitive. Examples of such 'flashpoints' in translation are given in Chapter 6.

DEUTSCH	ENGLISH
<i>Amtssprache</i>	official language of an organisation/a county; officialise
<i>berufsfähig</i>	qualified to take up a particular position (not simply 'employable')
<i>Berufsqualifizierung</i>	obtaining formal employment qualifications
<i>Bildungsausländer</i>	foreign national who obtained his/her higher education entrance qualification outside Germany
<i>Bildungsinländer</i>	foreign national who obtained his/her higher education entrance qualification in Germany
<i>Diplom</i>	German academic degree, now almost completely replaced by Bachelor's/Master's degrees
<i>Duale Hochschule(n)</i>	university/universities of cooperative education
<i>Duales Studium</i>	degree-level apprenticeship that combines academic study with paid internships
<i>Etikettenschwindel</i>	false labelling
<i>Exzellenzinitiative</i>	Excellence Initiative; initiative for excellence
<i>Fachhochschule</i>	university of applied science/sciences
<i>Hochschulrahmengesetz</i>	General Act on Higher Education
<i>Hochschule für angewandte Wissenschaft (HaW)</i>	university of applied science/sciences
<i>Hochschule(n)</i>	institute(s) of tertiary/higher education; higher education provider; higher education institution/institute (HEI)
<i>Land, Länder</i>	federal state/states
<i>Landeskoordinationsstelle für Übersetzungsangelegenheiten im Hochschulwesen Baden-Württemberg</i>	state coordination body for translation matters in higher education in Baden-Württemberg
<i>Lehrstuhl</i>	(university) chair; professorship
<i>Leistungspunkt</i>	credit point
<i>Modulbeschreibung</i>	module description
<i>Profilbildung</i>	image building for purposes of differentiation or positioning
<i>Rat für deutsche Rechtschreibung (RdR), Rechtschreiberat</i>	Council for German Orthography and Spelling
<i>Skript</i>	course materials, presentation slides (provided by the lecturer)
<i>Tagung</i>	one-day conference
<i>Universität(en)</i>	(research-oriented) university/universities

See also:

Siepmann, D. (2015). *Wörterbuch Hochschule*, Deutscher Hochschulverband

Behmel, A., Neudorfer, K. (2016). *The Foreigner's Guide to German Universities*, ibidem-Verlag

APPENDIX B

Research Sites and Interviewees

Conferences

Event	Date
Annual conferences of the <i>Netzwerk Hochschulübersetzer/innen</i> (hosted by the University of Mannheim)	May 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018
1 st Network Meeting of <i>Hochschulübersetzer/innen in Baden-Württemberg</i> , University of Hohenheim	November 2014
1 st Network conference of the <i>Centre for the State Coordination of Higher Education Translation in Baden-Württemberg</i>	February 2017

Focus group, 13 November 2014

Event: First meeting of higher education translators Baden-Württemberg
Place: Universität Hohenheim
Interviewer: Stephanie Ashford
Note-takers: Dr Tom Smith (communications trainer)
 Dr Kelly Neudorfer (higher education translator)
Participants: Members of the network of higher education translators (9 interviewees) working in Baden-Württemberg

Interviewees, June-July 2018

Topic	Interviewee	Role	Background	Date	Min/Sec
A	1. Hannah	Research Assistant	German/Canadian	25.06.18	25:06
	2. Saskia	Programme Administrator	German	25.06.18	08:18
	3. Pia	Programme Administrator	German	25.06.18	07:24
	4. Hendrik	Professor (Economics)	German	28.06.18	06:31
	5. Toby	Freelance BE lecturer	English	28.06.18	07:08
	6. Shelley	Intern, International Office	American	29.06.18	13:04
	7. Carola	Deputy Head, International Office	German	29.06.18	12:23
	8. Nick	Tenured BE lecturer	English	29.06.18	10:15
	9. Ariane	Administrator, President's Office	German	03.07.18	07:46
	10. Axel	Professor (Statistics)	German	03.07.18	08:02
	11. Tara	Professor (Social Work)	German	04.07.18	10:34
B	12. Toby	Part-time Business English lecturer	English	22.06.18	05:40
	13. Hannah	Research Assistant	German/Canadian	25.06.18	18:02
	14. Saskia	Programme Administrator	German	25.06.18	03:53
	15. Pia	Programme Administrator	German	25.06.18	05:26
	16. Hendrik	Professor (Economics)	German	28.06.18	06:25
	17. Carola	Deputy Head, International Office	German	29.06.18	10:01
	18. Nick	Full-time Business English lecturer	English	29.06.18	08:14
	19. Ariane	Administrator, President's Office	German	03.07.18	05:32
	20. Axel	Professor (Statistics)	German	03.07.18	08:02
	21. Tara	Professor (Social Work)	German	04.07.18	08:04
Total interview time: 3hrs, 26 mins					

Nb: Pseudonyms given to protect identity of interviewee.

APPENDIX C

Prompts for Focus Group Discussion: Views of Higher Education Translators

Topic 1 – Language

- Why are these terms so tricky to translate? Why do they raise controversy? Who gets exercised about them?

[On flip-chart:]

*Promotionsstudium Doktorand Rektor Kanzlerin Fakultät Juniorprofessor
Akademische Mitarbeiter Sekretärin Programm Dekanat...?*

- Complexities of language (false friends, synonyms, ...)
- Implications for status and identity (title inflation; British/American English; fear of threats to German identity)
- Positive/negative associations...?

Who has the last word? The translator? If not, why not?

Topic 2 – Being a university translator

- Mostly German-English? Other languages? Why are you needed?
- How long have you been a university translator? For several universities or just one? Current status: In-house/self-employed/freelance?
- What is the scope/nature of your work? What are the biggest headaches?
- What makes HE translating special (apart from the terminology)?
- In-house or by freelancers – pros and cons (for both translator + institution), e.g. would a freelancer who charges by the line be less inclined than an in-house translator to point out if a translation is unnecessary?
- Do you have a wider impact (e.g. raising awareness of where German originals are obsolete, need for a German ‘corporate language’, improvements to the website, ...)?

Topic 3 – Processes and coordination

- How can processes of translation be made more efficient, and more effective? Who makes the decisions? Who has the last word? How binding is binding?
- Obstacles and solutions?

Topic 4 – Anglicisation

- To what extent has your university become ‘Anglicised’? Are German universities losing their identity? What is the role of translators in this process (colluders, Trojan horses, ...)?
- How do you (or your colleagues) feel about Anglicisation?
- Response of your colleagues: Do they seem resigned to the growing adoption of English? Do they resist it? Do they embrace it?
- Managing language change...impossible?
- How to translate *Hochschulübersetzer/innen*?

Stephanie Ashford

APPENDIX D

Excerpts from Reports of Focus Group Discussion: Views of Higher Education Translators

Date: 13 November 2014
Event: First meeting of higher education translators Baden-Württemberg, Universität Hohenheim
Interviewer: Stephanie Ashford
Note-takers: Dr Tom Smith (communications trainer), Dr Kelly Neudorfer (higher education translator)
Participants: Members of the network of higher education translators (9 interviewees) working in Baden-Württemberg
Length of session: Approx. 1 hour
Topics covered: (1) Language, (2) Being a university translator, (3) Processes and coordination (4) Anglicis(z)ation

Coding system

RQ1: Role and status of the translator; nature and scope of HE translation work

RQ2: Translation difficulties arising from differences in national/academic culture and issues of status within the organization; resistance to translator's choices

RQ3: Strategic use of English in profiling and positioning

Underlined text refers to suggestions for dealing with linguistic and management challenges.

Excerpts from Report 1 (Dr Tom Smith)

1. Language

How might these 'problem words' be translated?

(On flip chart... Fakultät -- Lehrbeauftragte -- Gymnasium -- Doktorand -- Dekanat -- etc.)

It was suggested that these could be context dependent, as could other words used to describe departments and titles in higher education. Some words (*Fakultät*) are problematic across cultures. Translating this as 'school', for example, may come with connotations. There are also other issues such as translating words that are associated with status. In particular, some words in German have a legal status that they do not have in English.

[...]

The word *adjunct* is not generally used in British English although in the USA the term *Adjunct Instructor* may refer to a freelance teacher and this may be used as a translation of *Lehrbeauftragte*. Similarly, the word *Lehrbeauftragte* is not the same as *Privatdozent*. It was noted that trying to find a German word to express an English concept, and vice versa, is hard enough without having to deal with all the cultural and status issues that arise. A question therefore is whether more neutral terms might be used.

Titles are tricky because individuals may feel that their status has been downgraded as a result of translation. Business cards, which carry titles, may raise issues when academics visit partner universities or work with colleagues in other countries. In some countries (e.g. Austria) academics may use the 'double-doctor' title (*Prof. Dr. Dr. Georg Herzog*). As with the German 'professor-doctor' title (*Prof. Dr. Stefan Müller*), this may not fit with the international academic style. Furthermore, in some countries the title 'doctor' is used as a general term for any academic qualification (e.g. *Dottore* in Italian can be used for someone with a first degree, *Professore* for a high-school teacher).

It was suggested that while some academics may feel sensitive about their status, and even feel threatened by possible status loss, there are others who have greater leverage and therefore the means to inflate their status in translation: “Often there are terms which can seem straightforward at first but become tricky when you get feedback (or even protest).” One idea was the use of organisation charts, which can be helpful in breaking down hierarchies into different areas.

Another tricky area identified as ‘a typical quibble’ is *Dienstreise*, which could be translated as business trip or business travel. In some texts it has (surprisingly, for some) been translated as ‘duty travel’. This appears to be a US term that has been used in multinational contexts. One suggestion for help with clarifying tricky terms is the use of online translators (e.g. LINGUEE) that give examples of words in context as well as stats on frequency of usage.

2. A university translator’s job description

What would a university translator’s job description be? This question raised a number of responses. There could be restrictions on what translators are expected to do, but some people have to do ‘everything and anything’. This could typically be website translation, contact with potential students (and therefore marketing), and bureaucratic forms. Some translators said that they would not do work for individual members of staff, such as translating emails or presentations, or for students.

[...]

Another question that arose: “Is most university translation from German to English?”. The answer, at least from the people in the room, was yes. Currently there is a great need for universities to ‘catch up’ and get their websites into English. Sometimes only the home (start) page is in English, as soon as you click away to more specific information, it is in German only. This is a problem for institutions hoping to recruit students from abroad. There are some cases of translation into French, and Chinese.

3. Processes and coordination

[...]

If you are a freelancer, communication with the universities could be faster and more efficient (compared to working with private clients or companies). Sometimes translators are frustrated when their work is ‘watered down’ to suit the needs of the institution. Can translators also affect and improve the quality of documents in the original language? Translations should not be subjected to endless rounds of revisions: “A translation should be read through once, and corrected once”. Translators should consider what is ‘best practice’ and be prepared to up their game accordingly. In some universities, translators get bits of work coming in from all directions. Instead of translating pieces of work directly, the translation objectives of an institution could be coordinated more openly and transparently.

[...]

4. Anglicis(z)ation

What about the shift to English in higher education in Germany? It is often stated that if German universities want to spread their influence internationally, they will have to increasingly use English and also offer more English-language courses. In fact, it is not only the English language that is being rapidly adopted by universities, but other non-linguistic symbols, for example the US-style cap-and-

gown graduation ceremonies. For some people the process is seen as an inevitable trend towards internationalisation, rather than deliberate Anglicisation.

Finally, a general question about foreign students coming to study in Germany was raised. Did it not strike people as strange that they should be invited (through increasingly intensive marketing) to come and study at a German university, without any requirement to learn German since so many courses are now switching to English? In fact, language is only one factor, as universities compete on price as well, and on providing greater access to courses by lowering their entry requirements.

Excerpts from Report 2 (Dr Kelly Neudorfer)

Ms. Stephanie Ashford briefly described her doctoral work in Higher Education Management and her interest in the management of language change, specifically the “Anglicization” of German universities. She led the participants in a discussion of several topics which possibly cause difficulties for university translators.

The first topic was language and focused on what made the translation of specific terms “tricky.” The participants noticed that several of the examples she gave were titles, and titles can be particularly tricky because they touch on egos and hierarchical structures. If a person doesn’t believe that his/her title is given the proper respect in the translation, or if another person’s title is perhaps too elevated, this can cause problems. In addition, it was noted that there can be many different, possibly correct translations for one term, but the decision on which to use is sometimes also political. Finally, another reason given for tricky translations was that there is sometimes no one accurate term in the English language because the position or concept doesn’t exist outside of Germany.

The second topic was about being a university translator. Ms. Ashford asked the participants what that meant for them and whether they felt it was different from other translation work.

[...].

Several participants also noted that they get more critique in a university environment, possibly because there are many people with international experience who have had a great deal of contact with English.

The third topic was processes and coordination and asked about decision-making processes. In most cases, translators reported that they were generally able to set terms, although these terms are sometimes questioned by others in the university. In addition, some “important” terms are set by higher authorities, and the considerations are not always only linguistic.

The final topic in the focus group discussion was the Anglicization of German universities and whether translators felt any resistance. The term “Anglicization” was quickly questioned, as at least one participant viewed it as a process of “internationalization” with the side effect of more English since English is the current lingua franca. Most of the translation work done is not aimed specifically at potential students from English-speaking countries but at countries throughout the world. Participants noted that they rarely encountered resistance to translation and instead felt that their work was valued and sought-out. The general question was raised as to why there are these intensive internationalization efforts and the difficulties the administrative staff sometimes have in trying to manage all of the official documents in English. At one university there have been efforts not just to translate the documents welcoming new professors, for example, but to give explanations for some very specific German institutions like the LBV.

APPENDIX E

Questionnaire to University Translators

Questionnaire for translators in German higher education

PART A - Your background

* 1. Which of the following best describes your current occupation?

- ☐ Freelance or self-employed translator
- ☐ Employed by a university as a translator
- ☐ Employed by a university, but not as a translator
- ☐ Head of translation agency
- ☐ Other (please specify)

* 2. What proportion of your work involves translation for the higher education sector?

- ☐ Less than half
- ☐ About half
- ☐ More than half

* 3. Do you have experience of translating for universities outside Germany?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ If 'Yes', please specify the country/countries.

* 4. Which areas of translation do you have experience in? (Select all that apply.)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Technical | <input type="checkbox"/> Literary |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Legal | <input type="checkbox"/> Energy |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Medical | <input type="checkbox"/> Government and public policy |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Financial/commercial | <input type="checkbox"/> Higher education |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) | |

* 5. Which of the following qualifications do you hold?

- ☐ University degree in translation studies
- ☐ University degree in languages/linguistics
- ☐ Licensed as a sworn or court-appointed translator (ermächtigte/r, bestellte/r, beeidigte/r Übersetzer/in)
- ☐ Translation qualification from an institute of further education, e.g. IHK (geprüfte/r Übersetzer/in)
- ☐ State-approved translator (staatlich geprüfte/r Übersetzer/in)
- ☐ No formal qualification in the field of translation/languages
- ☐ Other (please specify)

* 6. Do you belong to any professional associations or networks of translators? (Select all that apply.)

- ☐ I do not belong to any translator associations.
- ☐ BDÜ
- ☐ ADÜ
- ☐ ATICOM
- ☐ Netzwerk Hochschulübersetzer/innen
- ☐ Other (please specify)

* 7. How would you describe your linguistic background?

- ☐ Native speaker of English
- ☐ Native speaker of German
- ☐ Bilingual (English/German)
- ☐ Other (please specify)

8. Which variant of English comes most naturally to you?

- ☐ American English
- ☐ British English
- ☐ Other (please specify)

* 9. Which English-speaking higher education system are you most familiar with?

- ☐ US American
- ☐ Canadian
- ☐ English
- ☐ Scottish
- ☐ Australian
- ☐ New Zealand
- ☐ South African
- ☐ Other (please specify)

* 10. How long have you been involved in university translation, directly or indirectly?

- ☐ Less than 3 years
- ☐ Between 3 and 9 years
- ☐ Between 10 and 14 years
- ☐ More than 15 years

Questionnaire for translators in German higher education

PART B - Your role and status as a translator in higher education

* 11. What types of *Hochschule* (university or specialised institute of university standing) have you translated for? (Select all that apply.)

- ☐ *Universität* (traditional or full-curriculum university)
- ☐ *Fachhochschule* (university of applied sciences)
- ☐ *Duale Hochschule* (cooperative state university)
- ☐ *Kunst-/Musikhochschule* (college of art/music)
- ☐ *Theologische Hochschule* (college of theology)
- ☐ *Pädagogische Hochschule* (college of education)
- ☐ *Technische Universität* (university of engineering/technology)
- ☐ Other (please specify)

* 12. Are you currently employed by a university as a translator?

- ☐ No (Please skip to Q19)
- ☐ Yes

13. If you are employed as a university translator, what is your contractual status? (Select all that apply.)

- ☐ Part-time (Teilzeit)
- ☐ Full-time (Vollzeit)
- ☐ Limited (befristet)
- ☐ Unlimited (unbefristet)

14. If you have a part-time contract as a university translator, what is the percentage?

- ☐ 25%
- ☐ 50%
- ☐ 75%
- ☐ Other (please specify)

15. If you have a limited (*befristet*) contract as a university translator, what is the duration?

- ☐ 1 year
- ☐ 2 years
- ☐ 4 years
- ☐ Other (please specify)

16. OPTIONAL: If you are employed as a university translator, what is your TV-L salary category?

Other (please specify)

17. If you are employed as a university translator, what proportion of your time is spent working from home?

- ☐ I do most of my work at home.
- ☐ I divide my work between the university and my home office.
- ☐ I do most of my work at the university.

18. If you are employed as a university translator, what does this involve? (Select any options that apply.)

- ☐ I am the sole translator for my university.
- ☐ I am in team of translators.
- ☐ I am the head translator.
- ☐ I do translations and proofreading, but this is not my main job.
- ☐ I translate and coordinate translation services from agencies/freelancers.
- ☐ Other (please specify)

19. If you work for a university, but not primarily as a translator, what is your **main** area of responsibility?

- ☐ Language centre / Institute of languages (*Sprachzentrum, Sprachinstitut*)
- ☐ Teaching (*Dozent/in, Professor/in/ Lehrbeauftragte*)
- ☐ International Office / *Auslandsamt*
- ☐ Website development / IT
- ☐ Communications / Public Relations (*Hochschulkommunikation / Öffentlichkeitsarbeit*)
- ☐ Other (please specify)

20. If you are employed by the university, but not as a translator, do you coordinate translation services?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Questionnaire for translators in German higher education

PART C - The university (your main employer or client)

* 21. Your **main** employer/client: What type of university is it?

- ☐ *Universität* (full-curriculum)
- ☐ *Fachhochschule* (university of applied sciences)
- ☐ *Duale Hochschule* (university of cooperative education)
- ☐ *Kunst-/Musikhochschule* (college of arts/music)
- ☐ *Theologische Hochschule* (college of theology)
- ☐ *Pädagogische Hochschule* (college of education / teacher training)
- ☐ Technische Universität (university of engineering/technology)
- ☐ Other (please specify)

* 22. Is it in public or private hands?

- ☐ Public sector (state-owned)
- ☐ Private sector (state-recognise but privately-owned, e.g. AG, GmbH)
- ☐ Don't know
- ☐ Other (please specify)

* 23. When was it founded as a *Hochschule/Universität*?

- ☐ Before 1500
- ☐ Between 1500 and 1900
- ☐ Between 1900 and 1949
- ☐ Between 1950 and 2000
- ☐ Since 2000
- ☐ Don't know

24. How many students are currently enrolled?

- ☐ Fewer than 5,000
- ☐ Between 5,000 and 15,000
- ☐ Between 15,000 and 30,000
- ☐ More than 30,000
- ☐ Don't know

* 25. What proportion of university staff do you estimate to be native speakers of English?

- ☐ Less than 5%
- ☐ Up to 20%
- ☐ More than 20%

* 26. Of those who are not native speakers of English, how would you assess their level on the Common European Reference scale? (A1/A2 = basic user, B1/B2 = independent user, C1-C2 proficient user)

	A1/A2	B1	B2	C1	C2
Undergraduate students	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Postgraduate students	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Researchers	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Administrative staff	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Teaching faculty	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

* 27. How would you describe the public image of the university, as represented in its marketing? Select all that apply.

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> World-class | <input type="checkbox"/> Vocational | <input type="checkbox"/> Research-oriented |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Modern | <input type="checkbox"/> Comprehensive (full-curriculum) | <input type="checkbox"/> Teaching-oriented |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Classical | <input type="checkbox"/> Specialised | <input type="checkbox"/> Innovative |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Traditional | <input type="checkbox"/> Elite | <input type="checkbox"/> Focusing on employers' needs |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Progressive | <input type="checkbox"/> Reflecting diversity | <input type="checkbox"/> Building on German academic traditions |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Highly-ranked | <input type="checkbox"/> Internationally-oriented | <input type="checkbox"/> Adopting American academic traditions |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Renowned | <input type="checkbox"/> Regionally-oriented | <input type="checkbox"/> Adopting British academic traditions |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) | | |

* 28. Are there any areas where English is supplanting German (e.g. English titles for courses taught in German)?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Don't know
- ☐ Yes

If 'yes', please comment or give examples.

* 29. In your opinion, does the university come across differently in translation?

- ☐ No
- ☐ Don't know
- ☐ Yes

Please comment.

Questionnaire for translators in German higher education

PART D - Rationales and demand for English texts/translations

* 30. Who does the university seem **most** keen to reach through their English texts/translations?

- ☐ International researchers (including doctoral students)
- ☐ International teaching staff
- ☐ International students (undergraduates)
- ☐ International students (postgraduates, e.g. for Masters degree programmes)
- ☐ I don't know.
- ☐ I translate for different universities, and the target audience varies.
- ☐ Other (please specify)

* 31. In your view, what is the **main** reason why the university is investing in translation into English?

- ☐ Creating a bilingual campus is part of the university's internationalisation strategy
- ☐ Promoting a 'Willkommenskultur' is part of the university's strategy.
- ☐ Promoting 'internationalisation at home' is part of the university's internationalisation strategy
- ☐ The university wants to enhance its status in Germany
- ☐ The university wants to increase its international visibility (become more attractive/competitive globally)
- ☐ Other universities are doing it (the 'me-too' effect, or peer pressure)
- ☐ A response to a growing number of international students and faculty
- ☐ Other (please specify)

* 32. Who in the organisation uses translation services? (Select all that apply.)

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Personnel department (<i>Personalabteilung</i>) | <input type="checkbox"/> Faculties (<i>Fakultäten</i>) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Student offices (<i>Studienbüros</i>) | <input type="checkbox"/> Management (<i>Rektorat</i>) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Student union and cafeteria (<i>Studierendenwerk und Mensa</i>) | <input type="checkbox"/> Administration (<i>Verwaltung</i>) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> International Office (<i>Akademisches Auslandsamt</i>) | <input type="checkbox"/> Grant applications (<i>Forschungsförderung</i>) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Admissions (<i>Zulassungsamt, Zulassungsstelle</i>) | <input type="checkbox"/> Library (<i>Universitätsbibliothek</i>) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Equal Opportunities Office (<i>Stabstelle Gleichstellung</i>) | <input type="checkbox"/> Examinations board/office (<i>Zentraler Prüfungsausschuss/Prüfungsamt</i>) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Finance (<i>Finanzen</i>) | <input type="checkbox"/> Marketing and communications (<i>Hochschulkommunikation</i>) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> IT Department (<i>Rechenzentrum</i>) | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) | |

* 33. What have you translated, proofread, or written in English yourself? (Select all that apply.)

	Translated	Proofread	Written
Website content	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Marketing materials	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Job advertisements	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Exam regulations	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Warnings (<i>Belehrungen, Mahnungen</i>)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Forms	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Explanations and guidelines (<i>Merkblätter</i>)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Applications (<i>Anträge</i>)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Contracts	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Intranet content	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Menus (<i>Speisekarten</i>)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Research articles	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Press releases (<i>Pressemitteilungen</i>)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Theses/dissertations	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Texts for social media (e.g. Facebook)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Other (please specify)

Questionnaire for translators in German higher education

PART E - Translation and terminology management

34. Please indicate the nature/extent of translation management in the university.

	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree
Most of the translation is carried out by external translators.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Most of the translation is done in-house.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Translation is coordinated / project-managed.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
There is a process of proofreading and correcting (Korrekturverlauf, vier-Augen-Prinzip)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The process of translation (work-flow) is clearly defined.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The university supports the professional development of its translators.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

* 35. Which administrative unit (*Stabstelle, Institut, zentrale Einrichtung*) within the university coordinates or has main responsibility for translation? (If you work for more than one university, select the unit you deal with most often.)

- ☐ International Office / Akademisches Auslandsamt
- ☐ Language Center / Language Services / Institute of Languages / *Sprachenzentrum / Sprachendienste / Institut für Sprachen*
- ☐ Marketing and Communications / *Hochschulkommunikation*
- ☐ Translation department
- ☐ None
- ☐ Other (please specify)

* 36. What is the university policy with regard to web pages?

- ☐ All German web pages are translated into English (no 'reduced' English website)
- ☐ Only webpages relevant to the target audience are translated (separate English website)
- ☐ There is no policy.

Please add comments where applicable.

37. OPTIONAL: If your work has led to any change in the content, structure or style of a source text (e.g. where a 'barrier-free' policy for the English webpages resulted in a similar policy for the German webpages), please give examples.

* 38. Which technical tools do you use for your work in university translation?

- ☐ Translation memory software (which stores previous translations)
- ☐ Terminology management systems
- ☐ Machine translation software
- ☐ Electronic dictionaries
- ☐ Desktop publishing (DTP) programs
- ☐ Content management systems for webpages (e.g. Typo3)
- ☐ None of the above

Please give examples where applicable (e.g. SDL Trados, MemoQ, translate5).

* 39. Does the university collaborate with other universities more closely on specific (translation or English-related) projects?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Don't know

* 40. Does the university have guidelines for a corporate language (*einheitliche Unternehmenssprache, definiertes Sprachkonzept*) in German?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Don't know

* 41. Is the university concerned with developing consistency in its English-language terminology?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No
☐ Don't know

* 42. Which of the following guidelines for a corporate language in English does the university have? (Select all that apply.)

- ☐ A binding German-English list or glossary of university terminology
☐ A non-binding German-English list or glossary of university terminology
☐ A style guide for texts in English
☐ Guidelines on gender-neutral language in English
☐ A list of 'forbidden' terms (*verbotene Sprache*)
☐ No guidelines of any sort
☐ Other (please specify)

* 43. In your translations for this university, which model or variety of English do you use?

- ☐ British English
☐ American English
☐ International English
☐ Plain English
☐ Other (please specify)

* 44. What is the **main** reason why you use this variant/model of English?

- ☐ It's prescribed by the official university language policy.
- ☐ It's unofficial university language policy.
- ☐ It's what my boss prefers.
- ☐ It's what my predecessor(s) used.
- ☐ It's what I'm most familiar with.
- ☐ I was hired because the university wanted this.
- ☐ I don't know.
- ☐ Other (please specify)

45. OPTIONAL: What is your main reference work (dictionary)?

* 46. Do you ever encounter resistance within the organisation to your translation choices?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If you answered 'Yes', please comment.

47. Do you ever encounter resistance within the organisation to the growing use of English?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

If yes, please specify.

Questionnaire for translators in German higher education

PART F - Professional values and standards

48. OPTIONAL: Due to differences between university systems, traditions and cultures, there may be some terms for which there is no exact equivalent. What terms have you found to be 'untranslatable'? Please give a few examples, briefly explaining why translating these terms might be controversial.

* 49. In your opinion, what is the best policy for dealing with such 'untranslatables'?

- ☐ Don't translate. Keep the original and add an explanation.
- ☐ Use the English term that the audience is most likely to understand.
- ☐ Use an English term that resembles the German term as closely as possible.
- ☐ Other (please specify)

* 50. Some people say that the growing use of English undermines the status of German. Do you agree?

- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Disagree.
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Agree
- ☐ Strongly agree

Please comment.

* 51. When there are disagreements about translation choices, who has the last word in the organisation?

- ☐ Usually the translator
- ☐ Usually a non-translator

Please comment.

* 52. In your opinion, what should be the **main** benefit of a network of translators in higher education?

- ☐ Helping translators to feel less isolated
- ☐ Helping translators to find work
- ☐ Sharing best practice with regard to translation management
- ☐ Developing professional standards and practices for higher education translation management
- ☐ A discussion forum for dealing with tricky translations
- ☐ A lobby that agitates for fair pay and recognition for university translators
- ☐ Other (please specify)

* 53. Are you in favour of standardised terminology for higher education in Germany?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No
- ☐ Don't know

Please comment.

* 54. What is the **main** challenge facing you as a translator in German higher education?

- ☐ New technology
- ☐ Lack of recognition/status
- ☐ Low pay
- ☐ Job insecurity
- ☐ A new field of terminology
- ☐ Lack of management support
- ☐ Other (please specify)

55. OPTIONAL: Please add any comments about the design of this questionnaire. Constructive criticism is appreciated.

APPENDIX F

Translators' Comments on the Questionnaire Design

Below is a screen shot of the questionnaire responses to Q55.

Questionnaire for translators in German higher education		
Q55 OPTIONAL: Please add any comments about the design of this questionnaire. Constructive criticism is appreciated.		
Answered: 12 Skipped: 38		
#	RESPONSES	DATE
1	Wow, this really covered all my difficulties! Nice (but also depressing) to see that most people seem to be struggling with the same issues. Must struggle on...	9/19/2017 9:09 AM
2	Good, clearly a lot of thought has gone into it!	9/14/2017 5:05 PM
3	Very global and comprehensive questionnaire :-)) A couple of the questions were tricky to answer, e.g. after question 19 if you are a freelancer, i.e. how to assess the language ability of different groups at the uni. But enjoyed filling it in. Good luck with your research, Stephanie!	8/22/2017 10:17 AM
4	I would be interested in your findings	8/14/2017 4:40 PM
5	Question 24: 1900-1949 is missing! My uni founded in this epoch. Takes a lot longer than 15 mins!	8/14/2017 11:44 AM
6	All questions should be optional, allowing you to proceed even if you didn't fill out everything. The questionnaire is also quite long. You may have quitters. . .	8/14/2017 9:11 AM
7	The questionnaire seems to address primarily those translators who translate administrative (in the broadest sense) texts. I translate mostly academic work. I think that makes a big difference in the lives of translators. Most of the questions in the questionnaire were clear, but some lacked an "I don't know" option -- esp. translators who freelance may not be familiar with the inner working of universities.	8/13/2017 9:04 PM
8	I think more multiple answer options should have been included, particularly in the question regarding "translated/proofread/written"	8/11/2017 9:14 AM
9	Problematic to put the Netzwerk in a list together with BDÜ, ATA etc. This might suggest that the network is a formalized entity, which it is not. Problematic to ask what a network should do if it is clear which network is referred to without discussing this with the network admin (?).	8/10/2017 11:12 AM
10	great that someone is looking into our field :) quite detailed, but probably worth it.	8/10/2017 9:05 AM
11	Wow, very interesting. It took me much longer than 15 minutes (around 30 minutes), but it's absolutely worth it. Good luck with it!	8/10/2017 8:20 AM
12	Dear Stephanie ..Several questions warrant a separate survey... some questions should not be single choice.. time for completion could be helpful... plus indicating that the data is anonymous... maybe give the participants the options of seeing the survey results....	8/9/2017 6:42 PM

APPENDIX G

Criteria for Comparing German and English Versions of University Websites (RQ2, RQ3)

RQ2 – Language change and unintentional distortions of meaning

Non-linguistic elements for comparing German pages with their English counterparts

1. Text length and density
2. Page structure/layout
3. Semiotics (images, icons)
4. Other non-linguistic elements (e.g. stage of completeness)

Linguistic elements pointing to the nature and extent of Anglicisation

German pages	English pages
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anglicisms that either supplement or supplant German higher education terminology, grouped according to the categories of the <i>Verein der Deutsche Sprache</i> (VDS 2018): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Type 1 – Assimilated into German (<i>Ergänzungen</i>) Type 2 – Would benefit from a translation due to different connotations (<i>Differenzierung</i>) Type 3 – Encroaching on German (<i>Verdrängungen</i>) • English titles instead of German titles 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Non-translation of German titles and labels, where the effect is to retain the personality of the university (also RQ3) • Germanisms, i.e. direct translation arising from ‘interference’ mistakes, with the effect of retaining the German character of the text • Terminology specific to BE/AE indicating the nature and direction of Anglicization • Mistranslations resulting in unintentional distortions of meaning, with the potential to mislead or confuse the reader • Linguistic errors and inconsistencies in style resulting in the English version looking less professional than the German
<p style="text-align: center;">Both</p> <p>Denglicisms and ‘false friends’, i.e. English-sounding or quasi-English words that are used to refer to something different in the German context</p>	

RQ3 – Use of translation as an instrument in profiling and positioning

1. Websites or individual webpages with an edited English version (new or reduced content)
2. Webpages in English for which there is no corresponding page in German
3. Examples of translation choices that suggest conscious decisions relating to positioning or profiling (university vs. *Universität*, stated preference for AE/BE, ...)
4. Re-labelling (e.g. English titles for German courses)
5. Untranslatables and how they are dealt with

APPENDIX H

Images of Graduation Ceremonies at the DHBW VS – Past and Present

2010



2016



2010



2015



2012



2014



2016



2012



2016



DHBW Villingen Schwenningen, <https://www.dhbw-vs.de/presse/fotogalerien.html>

APPENDIX I

German-taught Bachelor courses with English titles (Index A-E)

Course title	Institution(s) offering the course (in German)
3D-Design & Management	HS Fresenius
Accounting & Controlling	DHBW Mannheim
Advanced Nursing Practice	Medical School Hamburg
Application Management	DHBW Lörrach, DHBW Mannheim, Mosbach, DHBW Stuttgart
Applied Art and Design	HS Düsseldorf
Applied Life Sciences	HS Kaiserslautern
Aviation Management and Piloting	HS Worms
Banking & Sales	HS der Sparkassen Finanzgruppe
Banking and Finance	TH Köln
Bio Science and Health	HS Rehin-Waal
Biomedical Engineering	Ostbayrische Technische Hochschule Regensburg
Biomedical Science	Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald
Business & Law in Accounting and Taxation	HS RheinMain
Business Administration	EBZ Business School, FH Dresden, HS Düsseldorf, FH Erfurt, Rheinische Fachhochschule Köln, Universität Magdeburg, <i>and many others</i>
Business Administration and Economics	Universität Passau
Business Engineering	DHBW Heidenheim, DHBW Ravensburg, DHBW Villingen-Schwenningen
Business Information Management	Rheinische FH Köln
Business Management and Administration	HS Mittweida
Cardiovascular Perfusion	Steinbeis Hochschule
Care Business Management	HS Magdeburg-Stendal
Case-Management im Sozial- und Gesundheitswesen	DHBW Heidenheim
Catering and Hospitality Services	Hochschule Niederrhein
Cinematography	Filmuniversität Babelsberg
Clinical Nutrition	Praxishochschule Rheine
Computational Engineering	TH Darmstadt
Computational Engineering Science	RWTH Aachen
Computational Mathematics	Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg
Computational Science	TU Chemnitz, TU Regensburg
Computational Science and Engineering	Universität Ulm
Computer Engineering	HS für Technik und Wirtschaft Berlin, TU Berlin, HF Furtwangen, Universität Paderborn
Computer Games Technology	FH Wendel
Computer Networking	HS Furtwangen
Controlling & Consulting	DHBW VS
Creative Design	HS für Gesundheit und Sport, Berlin
Creative Industries Management	SRH Hochschule der populären Künste GmbH
Creative Media	HS für Gesundheit und Sport, Berlin

Crossmedia Design	SRH HS Heidelberg
Data Science	Philipps-Universität Marburg
Deaf Studies	Humboldt-Universität Berlin
Digital Business Management	HS RheinMain
Digital Engineering	AKAD HS Stuttgart
Digital Film Design	Mediadesign Hochschule Berlin
Digital Humanities	Universität Leipzig, Julius-Maximilians-Universität Würzburg
Digital Philology	TU Darmstadt
E-Commerce	HR Ruhr West, Ernst-Abbe HS Jena, FH-Wedel, HS Angewandte Wissenschaften Würzburg-Schweinfurt
E-Government	HS Rhein-Waal
Embedded Systems Engineering	Universität Freiburg
Energy Efficiency and Englishes [sic]	TU Chemnitz
Engineering and Management	TH Ingolstadt
Engineering Business Information Systems	FH Frankfurt
Eventmanagement [sic]	HS für angewandtes Management, Berlin
Expressive Arts in Social Transformation	MSH Medical School Hamburg

(HRK, 2017)

APPENDIX J

German-taught courses with English titles at the DHBW

The following degrees at the Duale Hochschule Baden-Württemberg (State University of Cooperative Education) are taught mainly or exclusively in German. Please comment on the use of English titles.

BACHELORS DEGREES

- Controlling & Consulting
- Digital Business Management
- Food Management
- International Business Administration and Management
- Marketing Management
- Technical Management
- Accounting & Controlling
- Application Management
- Business Engineering
- Data Science
- E-Government
- E-Health
- International Management for Business and Information Technology
- Sales & Consulting
- Software Engineering
- Case-Management *im Sozial- und Gesundheitswesen*
- Virtual Engineering
- *Projekt* Engineering
- Facility Management
- *Arztassistent/-in* (Physician Assistant)

MASTERS DEGREES

- Master in Business Management
 - General Management, Accounting, Controlling *und Steuern*, Finance, General Business Management, Marketing, *Medien und Marketing*, Personal (sic?) *und* Organisation, Supply Chain Management, Managerial Economics *und Recht*
- Advanced Practice in Healthcare
- Governance *Sozialer Arbeit*

<http://www.dhbw.de/studienangebot/bachelor.html>, accessed 23.06.2018

APPENDIX K

Questions and Prompts for Interviews with University Managers (RQ3)

RATIONALES FOR TRANSLATION AND ORGANIZATIONAL GOALS

- **Institutional demand (rationales for translation)**
 - a. Impetus: When did your university start using translation services? What was the (initial) reason? Who are you trying to reach through English (target audience)?
 - b. Investment in translation: How much is spent on translation? Any idea of the budget?
- **Strategic importance of being represented in English**
 - a. How important is it that your university has an English 'presence'?
 - b. How does this relate to your other strategic goals (domestic/international)?
 - c. Does the use of English help your university to compete with other universities in Germany? If so, how?
 - d. Does the use of English help your university to compete internationally? If so, how?
 - e. Does your organization come across differently in English? If so, how?

TRANSLATION POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

- **Translation policy / translation management**
 - a. What is translated? What is NOT translated?
 - b. Who decides what is or isn't translated?
 - c. Who is responsible for (project-)managing the translation process?
 - d. In your view, should the English-language web pages be written in a different style to the German source texts? If so, in what way? (Prompt: Some argue that the translation should be written in simple, everyday language, to make it easier for non-native speakers to understand. Do you agree?)
 - e. Is your university likely to invest more heavily in translation services? Why/why not?
- **Labelling and branding in English**
 - a. Opinion on translation of proper nouns (*Eigennamen*)
 - b. Some of the courses at this university have English titles. Why?

OBSTACLES

- **Flashpoints**
 - a. Can you remember any terms or expressions relating to higher education where the translation choices provoked discussion?
 - b. What about terminology that is 'untranslatable'? Are there some terms that are better left untranslated? Why is it considered better not to translate them?
- **Other limitations to 'translating the university'**
 - a. What are barriers or limitations to 'translating the university'? How do you propose to overcome them? / How can they be overcome?
 - b. What does Anglicization mean to you? How do you feel about this?

APPENDIX L

Ethics and the Research Process – Issues Relevant to the Inquiry

Is the research morally justified?	Yes, because it contributes to the understanding of the role of translation in organisational representation; it offers a bridge between disciplines (sociolinguistics, organisational research), and helps managers involved in identity work in bilingual universities develop practice and policy.
Are participants likely to be disadvantaged or harmed in any way?	I ensured that their involvement did not disrupt their work, and that their support was willingly given. Particular care was needed in interviews to elicit attitudes so that participants would not feel 'tricked' into divulging views or revealing emotions they might feel uncomfortable about expressing, or lured into commenting on the failings of particular institutions/colleagues.
Do I need to obtain permission to carry out research? From whom?	For the sake of transparency and professional courtesy, I informed my superiors that I was carrying out doctoral research and sought to build trust to avoid suspicion that it might adversely affect their organisation (Oliver 2003, p. 39), but instead offer benefits.
Have I obtained the participants' informed consent?	They were informed about the aims of the research, and how the findings will be available to them. I explained how I would try to ensure that they would not be identifiable. Informed written consent in line with DRG regulations was obtained for use of data from the interviews and quotes from email discussions. Samples of the informed consent forms with the names deleted can be provided on request.
Are there likely to be conflicts of interest in my role(s)?	I need to ensure that my own activities as a lecturer and director of studies does not suffer from the time spent on research. Furthermore, as a member of one of the associations that I am investigating, I have a responsibility to explain that I am carrying out research in a way that neither jeopardises their trust in me nor the validity of my findings.
Is the process of research likely to influence the outcomes?	Yes, although one cannot predict the nature and extent of such influence. The surveys and interviews inevitably raise awareness of issues that require further discussion and ultimately action. It is important, therefore, to acknowledge my role as participant-observer and the need to maintain the 'social ecology' of the research setting (Oliver, 2003, pp. 84-86).
Is the data recorded in ways that are ethically sound?	In the case of interviews, participants were asked for their consent if the interviews were recorded (audio/video/note-taking). They were also invited to listen to the recording of the interview and to see the transcript and – where relevant – the summary. Informed written consent was also obtained from interviewees and from contributors to mailing lists for permission to publish comments.
Will participants be allowed to read, edit and confirm the accuracy of data?	I offered to send interviewees transcripts of the recordings and, where relevant summaries of my notes to check for accuracy. The two people who took notes and wrote reports on the focus-group meeting read each other's reports and neither contested the accuracy.
Do people affected by the research have access to the results in an understandable format?	Interviewees were told where and when they can access the results (my thesis). Questionnaire respondents will also have access to the results when published. The thesis will be available to anyone, and an abstract or synopsis in German could be provided if necessary. Findings may also be reported in journal articles. Parts of the thesis may in future be reported in the form of separate documents, depending on the audience.

APPENDIX M

Comparison Between Three Job Advertisements for University Translators

	<u>Universität Konstanz</u>	<u>Technische Universität Dresden</u>	<u>Friedrich-Schiller Universität Jena</u>
Job title	<u>Referentin/Referenten für internationale Kommunikation Deutsch-Englisch-Deutsch</u> Assistant in International Communication, German-English-German	<u>Übersetzer/in</u> / Translator	<u>Übersetzer/in (deutsch/englisch)</u> / Translator (German/English)
Unit / Department	<u>Stabstelle Kommunikation und Marketing</u> (responsible for internal and external communication, marketing and fundraising)	<u>Dezernat Strategie und Kommunikation</u> / Office of Strategy and Communication	<u>Internationaler Büro der Zentralen Universitätsverwaltung</u> / International Office of the Central University Administration
Job description (tasks, duties, responsibilities)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Translation and international communication, especially in connection with the university's applications for <u>Exzellenzstrategie</u> funding at federal and state levels Translating and correcting texts (e.g. webpages, applications, press releases, short academic texts, brochures, leaflets) of the university, normally from German into English, but occasionally from English into German Advising university staff on translation-related matters 	<p>As part of the university's internationalization strategy:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Translation from German into British English of central administrative documents (forms, circular letters, communications by the rector and pro-rector, regulations, guidelines, etc.), and TU-specific terms Proofreading, editing and authorisation of previously translated administrative documents (revising and updating) as part of ongoing quality assurance Contributing to the development of a multi-lingual glossary for the university Responding to internal queries about translation and terminological issues with advice and information Sensitising actors involved in communication in other areas of the organization about the need to represent the university to its external 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conceptual support in developing an institutional language policy as part of the university's translation strategy Needs analysis of university requirements Assessing and coordinating the needs of individual departments Translating top-level administrative texts and documents Developing and adapting translation tools Quality assurance and control, proofreading translations from external providers
		audiences at international standards, and where necessary to provide training.	
Required profile (qualifications, skills, personal attributes)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Knowledge of German and English at native-speaker level, or native-speaker in one of the languages and fluent in the other Experience of higher education desirable Very good communication skills in speaking and writing Ability to work independently and in teams Flexibility and ability to withstand pressure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> University degree as a (specialist) translator for English, or equivalent qualification Several years of relevant experience Skills in data-processing (MS Office, Translation Memory Programme desirable) Knowledge of quality standards for professional communication in an international context and with reference to management/organization Conscientious and meticulous approach to work Customer-oriented, able to work in a team Experience of working in a university environment with knowledge of university administration desirable Experience of working abroad or in an international environment desirable Ability to meet strict deadlines, to multi-task, and to work under pressure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> University degree in translation studies (Master/Diploma) or relevant postgraduate degree Professional experience in (international) higher education Knowledge of academic administration and university organizational structures. Knowledge of German and English at native-speaker level Knowledge of a second foreign language (French/Spanish) Licensed as a sworn-translator (desirable) Experience in project management Knowledge of relevant translation tools and software (TRADOS) Excellent communication skills Intercultural competence (at general and academic levels)
Contractual terms	Full-time, limited to six months; option of job-sharing	Part-time /Full-time	2 years, possibility of extension Full-time (40 hrs p/w)
Remuneration	Max. 9 TV-L, depending on qualifications	Max. 10 TV-L, depending on qualifications	13 TV-L, depending on qualifications
Perks / Benefits	No information	No information	No information

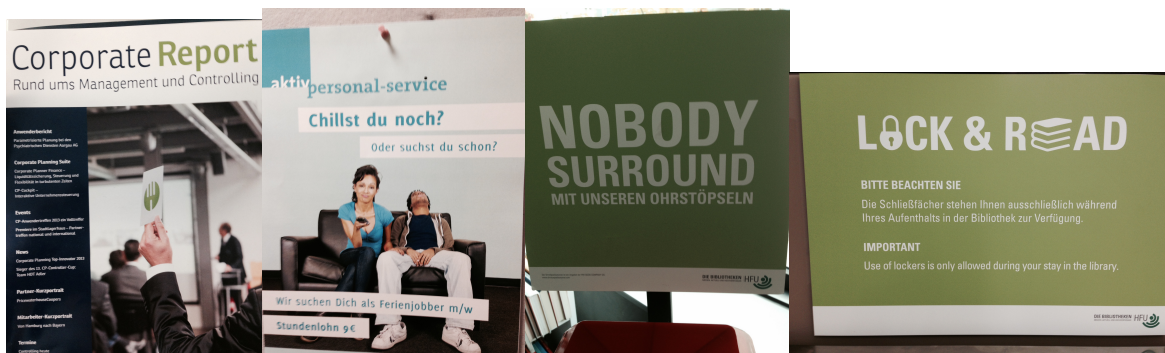
APPENDIX N

Linguistic Landscapes – Sightings of English

Noticeboard DHBW VS, 10 September 2014



Noticeboard and the library, Hochschule Furtwangen University, 12 September 2014



<http://www.hs-furtwangen.de/studierende/fakultaeten/medical-and-life-sciences/unsere-absolventen.html>

The image above shows students wearing cap and gown for the graduation ceremony at the HFU, October 2013. At that point, the attire was only for Master's graduates. It has since been adopted at the HFU and the DHBW across the board (also for Bachelor's graduates).

APPENDIX O

Comparative Analysis of Four translations

Linguistic and content analysis

The German original is presented below, followed by the four translations. The numbers refer to items identified for comparison, and the colours correspond to the code explained in the methodology chapter.

German original
<p>DAS DUALE STUDIUM¹</p> <p>Das duale Studium ist von Beginn an² ein Erfolgsmodell³. Ihren Ursprung hat⁴ die Duale Hochschule Baden-Württemberg in der Gründung⁵ der Berufsakademien⁶. Die erste Berufsakademie wurde 1974 als „Stuttgarter Modell“ von den Unternehmen Robert Bosch GmbH, Daimler-Benz AG und Standard Elektrik Lorenz AG in enger Zusammenarbeit mit der Württembergischen Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftsakademie (VWA)⁷ und der Industrie- und Handelskammer⁸ gegründet. Konsequenz hat sie sich zu einem erfolgreichen Hochschulsystem⁹ entwickelt.</p> <p>Aktuell studieren fast 34.000 junge Menschen¹⁰ aus mehr als 9.000 Unternehmen an zwölf Studienorten¹¹ in Baden-Württemberg.</p> <p>Theorie + Praxis = Erfolg</p> <p>Gleich nach dem Abitur oder der Fachhochschulreife¹² die berufliche Karriere starten - das Studienkonzept der Dualen Hochschule Baden-Württemberg Villingen-Schwenningen macht's möglich.</p> <p>Die Besonderheit der Konzeption¹³ liegt in der Verknüpfung</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• eines dreijährigen Studiums¹⁴ mit• einer praxisbezogenen Ausbildung¹⁵ in Unternehmen, Banken, Steuerberatungs- und Wirtschaftsprüfungskanzleien sowie sozialen Einrichtungen¹⁶ <p>Zwei starke Partner</p> <p>Zwei Partner übernehmen an der Dualen Hochschule die Aufgabe, die Studierenden für den Beruf zu qualifizieren¹⁷: das Ausbildungsunternehmen als Lernort für die Praxis und die Hochschule als Lernort für die Theorie¹⁸. Beide bilden in partnerschaftlicher Kooperation¹⁹ zusammen die Duale Hochschule.</p> <p>Praxisnahe Lehrinhalte sowie zeitgerechte Lehr- und Lernmethoden führen zu einem effektiven Wissenstransfer zwischen den beiden Lernorten. Darüber hinaus bildet die Mitwirkung von Lehrenden aus der Praxis eine wertvolle Schnittstelle. Dieser differenzierte Lehrkörper²⁰ von Professoren und Professorinnen²¹ sowie Lehrbeauftragte, die ausnahmslos über langjährige Erfahrungen aus ihrer beruflichen Tätigkeit verfügen, gewährleistet neben wissenschaftlicher Fundierung einen hohen Praxisbezug.</p> <p>Die Unternehmen und sozialen Einrichtungen sind gleichberechtigt in den Gremien wie dem Aufsichtsrat oder dem Hochschulrat²² vertreten und gestalten das duale System²³ maßgeblich mit. So werden zum Beispiel die Studienpläne gemeinsam entwickelt und ständig den neuesten wissenschaftlichen Erkenntnissen und den sich wandelnden Anforderungen der Arbeitswelt angepasst.</p> <p>Abwechslungsreiches Intensivstudium</p> <p>Der Wechsel zwischen Theorie- und Praxisphasen²⁴ gestaltet die Studienzeit besonders abwechslungsreich. Mit Leistungsbereitschaft und effizientem Zeitmanagement schließt das Studium an der DHBW Villingen-Schwenningen nach nur drei Jahren mit dem Bachelor of Arts oder Bachelor of Science ab. Alle Bachelor-Studiengänge der Dualen Hochschule Baden-Württemberg wurden im Jahre 2006 durch die Zentrale Evaluations- und Akkreditierungsagentur (ZEVA)²⁵ in Hannover mit 210 ECTS-Punkten²⁶ akkreditiert.</p>

Seit Herbst 2010 bietet die DHBW Villingen-Schwenningen den Masterstudiengang [Master in Taxation](#)²⁷ in Kooperation mit der Universität Freiburg an. Ab Herbst 2011 werden von der DHBW [weitere Masterprogramme](#) in allen Fakultäten angeboten.

Attraktive Aufstiegsmöglichkeiten

Das duale Ausbildungsprofil²⁸ bietet ideale Voraussetzungen für eine erfolgreiche Karriere. Die integrierten Praxisphasen, die von den Studierenden als Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter im Unternehmen absolviert werden, vermitteln schon während des Studiums fundierte, professionelle Erfahrungen. Wissenschaftliche Lehre verknüpft mit praktischem Handeln bildet unsere Studierenden zu motivierten und kompetenten Nachwuchskräften²⁹ aus, die über hohes Fach- und Anwenderwissen³⁰ sowie über ausgezeichnete³¹ Sozial- und Methodenkompetenz verfügen.

<http://www.dhbw-vs.de/hochschule/duales-studienkonzept.html>

Translations

Google Translate	Translation A	Translation B	Translation C
<p>THE DUAL STUDY¹</p> <p>The dual course is a success model² from the outset³. The Duale Hochschule Baden-Württemberg has its origins in⁴ the founding⁵ of the Berufsakademien⁶. The first professional academy was founded in 1974 as a "Stuttgart model" by the companies Robert Bosch GmbH, Daimler-Benz AG and Standard Elektrik Lorenz AG in close cooperation with the Württembergische Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftsakademie (VWA)⁷ and the Chamber of Industry and Commerce⁸. It has consistently developed into a successful university system⁹.</p> <p>Currently, almost 34,000 young people from more than 9,000 companies are studying¹⁰ at twelve study places¹¹ in Baden-Württemberg.</p> <p>Theory + Practice = Success</p> <p>Immediately after the Abitur or the Fachhochschulreife, the professional career starts¹² - the study concept of the dual university Baden-Wuerttemberg Villingen-Schwenningen makes it possible.</p> <p>The peculiarity of the concept¹³ lies in the linkage.</p>	<p>THE DUAL SYSTEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION¹</p> <p>The dual system of higher education has been a success story³ from the start². The Baden-Wuerttemberg Cooperative State University has its origins in⁴ the foundation⁵ of Cooperative Education Institutions (Berufsakademien)⁶. The first Cooperative Education Institution was called the "Stuttgart model". It was founded in 1974 by companies Robert Bosch GmbH, Daimler-Benz AG, and Standard Elektrik Lorenz AG in close cooperation with both the Wuertemberg Academy for Administration and Business Management (VWA)⁷ and the Chamber of Industry and Commerce⁸. Since then, it has developed into a successful system of higher education⁹.</p> <p>Almost 34,000 young people from over 9,000 companies are currently studying¹⁰ at 12 institutions¹¹ in Baden-Wuerttemberg.</p> <p>Theoretical + practical knowledge = success</p> <p>The concept for higher education at Baden-Wuerttemberg Cooperative State University Villingen-Schwenningen enables students to</p>	<p>THE DUAL DEGREE¹</p> <p>Dual degree courses have been a success story³ from the very start². The Baden-Wuerttemberg Cooperative State University has its origins in⁴ the establishment⁵ of the former Berufsakademien, or Cooperative State Colleges⁶. The first Berufsakademie was set up in 1974 by Robert Bosch GmbH, Daimler-Benz AG and Standard Elektrik Lorenz AG in close cooperation with the Wuertemberg College of Administration and Business⁷ and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry⁸, and became known as the "Stuttgart Model". It systematically developed to become a successful higher education system⁹.</p> <p>Currently nearly 34,000 young people from more than 9,000 companies are studying¹⁰ across twelve higher education sites¹¹ in Baden-Wuerttemberg.</p> <p>Theory + Practice = Success</p> <p>Embarking on a professional career directly after completing your secondary school or vocational college leaving exam¹² - the higher education approach of the Baden-Wuerttemberg</p>	<p>THE DUAL STUDY CONCEPT¹</p> <p>Right from its inception³, the dual study concept has been a resounding success². The origins of the Baden-Wuerttemberg Cooperative State University can be traced back to⁴ the founding⁵ of the Berufsakademie institutions⁶, with the first of these, the Stuttgart Model, being established in 1974 through the joint initiative of Robert Bosch GmbH, Daimler-Benz AG and Standard Elektrik Lorenz AG in close cooperation with the Wuertemberg College of Administration and Business⁷ (Württembergische Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftsakademie - VWA)⁸ and the Chamber of Industry and Commerce⁹. It has since developed consistently to become a successful system for tertiary education⁹.</p> <p>Almost 34,000 young people from more than 9,000 companies are currently involved in studies¹⁰ at twelve locations¹¹ in Baden-Wuerttemberg.</p> <p>Theory + Practice = Success</p> <p>Thanks to the study concept of the Baden-Wuerttemberg Cooperative State University Villingen-Schwenningen, young people with an</p>
<p>• a three - year study¹⁴ with</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Practical training¹⁵ in companies, banks, tax consultancy and auditing firms as well as social institutions¹⁶ <p>Two strong partners</p> <p>Two partners at the Dual College take on the task of qualifying students for the profession¹⁷: the training company as a place of learning for the practice and the university as a place of learning for the theory¹⁸. Both are formed in partnership with the Duale Hochschule¹⁹.</p> <p>Practical teaching contents as well as timely teaching and learning methods lead to an effective transfer of knowledge between the two learning places. In addition, the participation of teachers from practice is a valuable interface. This differentiated teaching staff²⁰ of professors and professors²¹, as well as lecturers, who have many years of experience from their professional activities, ensures a high degree of practical relevance in addition to their scientific foundation.</p> <p>The companies and social institutions are equally represented in the committees, such as the Supervisory Board or the Higher Education Council²², and contribute significantly to the dual system²³. For example, the study plans are jointly developed and</p>	<p>start a professional career directly after completing their higher education entrance qualification (Abitur) or university of applied sciences entrance qualification (Fachhochschulreife)¹².</p> <p>The distinctive feature of this concept¹³ is the combination of</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a three-year course of study¹⁴ with • practical training¹⁵ in a company, bank, tax consulting and auditing firm, or social institution¹⁶ <p>Two strong partners</p> <p>At the Cooperative State University, two partners are responsible for preparing students for professional life¹⁷: the training company, which provides practical knowledge, and the university, which provides theoretical knowledge¹⁸. They collaborate as partners¹⁹ and jointly form the Cooperative State University.</p> <p>The practice-based curriculum and modern methods of teaching and learning ensure effective knowledge transfer between the two places of learning. The direct involvement of industry experts in teaching provides a further valuable interface between the practical and the theoretical. This</p>	<p>Cooperative State University Villingen-Schwenningen makes this possible.</p> <p>The unique feature of the concept¹³ lies in the combination of</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a three-year degree course¹⁴ with • practical training¹⁵ in companies, banks, accountancy and audit firms, as well as social institutions¹⁶ <p>Two strong partners</p> <p>At the Cooperative State University, two partners assume responsibility for qualifying students for professional life¹⁷: the training company communicating practical skills and the university teaching the theory¹⁸. Together they form the Cooperative State University in partnership-based collaboration¹⁹.</p> <p>Practical teaching content combined with the latest teaching and learning methods result in an effective transfer of knowledge between the two places of learning. The involvement of lecturers who come directly from business and industry represents a further valuable interface. This differentiated body²⁰ of professors and lecturers²¹, all of whom invariably have many years of experience in their professional fields, ensures</p>	<p>upper secondary education or technical college certificate which entitles them to attend university⁽¹²⁾ can launch their professional career without delay¹².</p> <p>The special attraction of this concept¹³ lies in the linking of</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • a three-year course of academic studies¹⁴ with • a practice-oriented education and vocational training¹⁵ in companies, banks, accounting, tax consultancy and auditing businesses and social institutions¹⁶ <p>Two powerful partners</p> <p>Two partners ensure that students⁽¹⁷⁾ at the Baden-Wuerttemberg Cooperative State University achieve the level of qualification they aspire to¹⁷: the training company as a venue for practical education, complemented by the university as an academic location for theoretical learning¹⁸. Their cooperation in a spirit of partnership¹⁹ is at the core of the Cooperative State University.</p> <p>Practice-oriented learning content and modern tuition and learning methods ensure an effective transfer of knowledge between both learning locations. Moreover, the involvement</p>

<p>constantly adapted to the latest scientific knowledge and the changing requirements of the working world.</p> <p>Varied intensive study</p> <p>The alternation between theoretical and practical phases makes the study period particularly varied. With efficiency and efficient time management, the course at DHBW Villingen-Schwenningen is completed after only three years with the Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science. All Bachelor's degree programs at the Baden-Württemberg University of Applied Sciences were accredited in 2006 by the Central Evaluation and Accreditation Agency (ZEvA)²⁴ in Hanover with 210 ECTS credits²⁶.</p> <p>Since autumn 2010, DHBW Villingen-Schwenningen has been offering the Master's degree in Taxation²⁷ in cooperation with the University of Freiburg. From autumn 2011, DHBW will offer further master programs³² in all faculties.</p> <p>Attractive advancement opportunities</p> <p>The dual training profile²⁸ offers ideal conditions for a successful career. The integrated practical phases, which are carried out by the students as employees in the company, provide profound, professional experiences</p>	<p>diverse teaching staff of professors²⁰ and of part-time lecturers²¹ with extensive professional experience in their respective fields ensures that the teaching is both scientifically sound and of practical relevance.</p> <p>Companies and social institutions have equal representation on committees such as the supervisory board or the university council²² and therefore play a significant role in determining the shape of the dual system²³. This means, for example, that the curriculum is developed jointly and is constantly adjusted to take into account the latest scientific findings and the changing requirements of the professional world.</p> <p>Varied and intensive study</p> <p>Alternating periods of study and on-the-job training²⁴ mean that interest is maintained for the full duration of studies. With appropriate commitment and efficient time management, the programme at Baden-Wuerttemberg Cooperative State University Villingen-Schwenningen leads to the award of a Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science in just three years. All bachelor's programmes offered at Baden-Wuerttemberg Cooperative State University were accredited with 210 ECTS points²⁵ in 2006 by the Central</p>	<p>outstanding practical relevance alongside a scientific base.</p> <p>The companies and social institutions are equally represented on the university bodies, such as the Board of Governors or the Local Board of Governors²², and play a key role in defining the cooperative system²³. Course content is therefore developed jointly and continually adapted to the latest scientific findings and the changing demands of the workplace.</p> <p>Varied intensive degree courses</p> <p>The alteration between theoretical and practical phases²⁴ makes the degree courses extremely varied. With motivation, determination and efficient time management, students graduate at the Baden-Wuerttemberg Cooperative State University Villingen-Schwenningen after only three years with a Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science. All Bachelor degree courses at the Baden-Wuerttemberg Cooperative State University were accredited with 210 ECTS points²⁵ in 2006 by the Central Evaluation and Accreditation Agency²⁶ in Hanover.</p> <p>The Baden-Wuerttemberg Cooperative State University Villingen-Schwenningen has been offering the Master in Taxation Master's degree²⁷ in cooperation with the University of</p>	<p>of lecturers with a background in the practical environment represents another valuable interface. In addition to a sound scientific approach, this highly nuanced faculty²⁰ of professors and lecturers²¹, each invariably with many years of practical professional experience, also ensures a high degree of practical focus and relevance.</p> <p>Companies and social institutions have equal representation in committees such as the Supervisory Board or the Board of Governors²², contributing significantly to the shaping of the dual concept²³. This is reflected in their joint development of curricula and their continuous adaptation to reflect the latest scientific findings and changing requirements of the professional environment.</p> <p>Varied and intensive studies</p> <p>The alternation between theory and practice²⁴ ensures a varied and challenging course of studies. Commitment and efficient time management ensure that studies at the Baden-Wuerttemberg Cooperative State University Villingen-Schwenningen are completed in only three years, with students graduating with a Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science. All bachelor courses at the Baden-Wuerttemberg Cooperative</p>
<p>during the course of their studies. Academic teaching combined with practical activities gives our students motivated and competent young talents²⁹, who have high professional and expert knowledge³⁰ as well as excellent³¹ social and methodological competence.</p>	<p>Evaluation and Accreditation Agency (ZEvA)²⁶ in Hanover.</p> <p>Since autumn 2010, Baden-Wuerttemberg Cooperative State University Villingen-Schwenningen has been offering the master's programme Master in Taxation²⁷ in cooperation with the University of Freiburg. Additional master's programmes will be introduced from autumn 2011 in all faculties.</p> <p>Attractive career opportunities</p> <p>The dual training profile²⁸ provides the ideal foundation for a successful career. The periods of practical training, which students complete as employees within a company, are fully integrated into the course and provide them with the opportunity to acquire sound professional experience while still studying. The combination of academic education with hands-on work experience enables our students to become motivated and competent young professionals²⁹ with a high level of expertise and user knowledge³⁰ as well as excellent³¹ methodological and social skills.</p>	<p>Freiburg since autumn 2010. The Baden-Wuerttemberg Cooperative State University will offer further Master programmess all faculties from autumn 2011.</p> <p>Attractive career opportunities</p> <p>The cooperative training profile²⁸ offers ideal prerequisites for a successful career. The integrated practical phases, completed by the students working in companies, provide students with in-depth professional experience while still studying. Scientific theory linked to practical work transforms our students into motivated and professional employees²⁹, who have outstanding technical and practical knowledge³⁰ as well as outstanding³¹ social and methodological skills.</p>	<p>State University were accredited in 2006 by the central evaluation and accreditation agency, Zentrale Evaluations- und Akkreditierungsagentur (ZEvA)²⁶, in Hanover with 210 ECTS credit points²⁵.</p> <p>The Baden-Wuerttemberg Cooperative State University Villingen-Schwenningen offers Master in Taxation studies²⁷ in cooperation with the University of Freiburg since autumn 2010, and, as of late 2011, further master programmes will be offered in all faculties by the Cooperative State University.</p> <p>Attractive opportunities for advancement</p> <p>The dual study concept²⁸ meets the ideal prerequisites for a successful career. Integrated practical phases which are completed by students as employees of their company ensure that they gain sound professional experience during their studies. Close integration of a scientific academic approach and practical hands-on training ensure that our students develop to become motivated and competent up-and-coming professional talents²⁹ with a high degree of technical and user know-how³⁰ and excellent³¹ levels of social and methodological competence.</p>

Overview of lexical items compared

German original	Google Translate	Translation A	Translation B	Translation C
1. DAS DUALE SYSTEM	THE DUAL COURSE	THE DUAL SYSTEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION	THE DUAL DEGREE	THE DUAL STUDY CONCEPT
2. von Beginn an	from the outset	from the start	from the very start	right from its inception
3. ein Erfolgsmodell	a success model	a success story	a success story	a resounding success
4. Ihren Ursprung hat	has its origins in	has its origin in	has its origins in	can be traced back to
5. Gründung	founding	foundation	establishment	founding
6. Berufsakademien	Berufsakademien	Cooperative Education Institutions (Berufsakademien)	Berufsakademien, or Cooperative State Colleges	The Berufsakademie institutions
7. Württembergischen Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftsakademie (VWA)	Württembergischen Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftsakademie (VWA)	Wuerttemberg Academy for Administration and Business Management (VWA)	Wuerttemberg College of Administration and Business Management	Wuerttemberg Academy for Administration and Business Management (Württembergische Verwaltungs- und Wirtschaftsakademie - VWA)
8. Industrie und Handelskammer	Chamber of Industry and Commerce	Chamber of Industry and Commerce	Chamber of Commerce and Industry	Chamber of Industry and Commerce
9. Hochschulsystem	university system	system of higher education	higher education system	system for tertiary education
10. Aktuell studieren fast 34.000 Menschen	Currently, almost 34,000 young people ...are studying....	Almost 34,000 young people... are currently studying	Currently nearly 34,000 young people ... are studying	Almost 34,000 young people...are currently involved in studies
11. Studienorten	study places	institutions	higher education sites	locations
12. Gleich nach dem Abitur oder der Fachhochschulreife	immediately after the Abitur or the Fachhochschulreife	directly after completing their higher education entrance qualification (Abitur) or university of applied sciences entrance qualification (Fachhochschulreife)	directly after completing your secondary school or vocational college leaving exams	...young people with an upper secondary education or technical college certificate which entitles them to attend university... (can launch their career) without delay
13. die Besonderheit der Konzeption	the peculiarity of the concept	the distinctive feature of this concept	the unique feature of the concept	the special attraction of this concept
14. Studiums	study	course of study	degree course	course of academic studies
15. einer praxisbezogenen Ausbildung	practical training	practical training	practical training	practice-oriented education and vocational training
16. in Unternehmen, Banken, Steuerberatungs- und Wirtschaftsprüfungskanzleien sowie sozialen Einrichtungen	in companies, banks, tax consultancy and auditing firms as well as social institutions	in a company, bank, tax consulting and auditing firm, or social institution	in companies, banks, accountancy and audit firms, as well as social institutions	in companies, banks, accounting, tax consultancy and auditing businesses and social institutions
17. für den Beruf zu qualifizieren	qualifying students for the profession	for preparing students for professional life	for qualifying students for professional life	(ensure that students) achieve the level of qualification they aspire to
18. Das Ausbildungsunternehmen als Lernort für die Praxis, und die Hochschule als Lernort für die Theorie	the training company as a place of learning for the practice and the university as a place of learning for the theory	the training company, which provides practical knowledge, and the university, which provides theoretical knowledge	the training company communicating practical skills and the university teaching the theory	The training company as a venue for practical education, complemented by the university as an academic location for theoretical learning
19. In partnerschaftlicher Kooperation ¹⁸	in partnership with the Duales Hochschule	They collaborate as partners	in partnership-based collaboration	Their cooperation in a spirit of partnership

20. <u>Differenzierte Lehrkörper</u>	differentiated teaching staff	Diverse teaching staff	Differentiated body	Highly nuanced faculty
21. <u>Professorinnen und Professorinnen sowie Lehrbeauftragte</u>	of professors and professors, as well as lecturers	of professors and part-time lecturers	of professors and lecturers	of professors and lecturers
22. <u>Gremien wie dem Aufsichtsrat oder dem Hochschulrat</u>	Supervisory Board or the Higher Education Council	committees such as the supervisory board or the university council	University bodies such as the Board of Governors or the Local Board of Governors	Committees such as the Supervisory Board or the Board of Governors
23. Das <u>duale</u> System	The dual system	The dual system	The cooperative system	The dual concept
24. Der <u>Wechsel zwischen Theorie- und Praxisphasen</u>	The alternation between theoretical and practical phases	Alternating periods of study and on-the-job training	The alteration between practical and theoretical phases	The alternation between theory and practice
25. Zentrale Evaluations- und Akkreditierungsagentur (ZEVA)	Central Evaluation and Accreditation Agency (ZEVA)	Central Evaluation and Accreditation Agency (ZEVA)	Central Evaluation and Accreditation Agency	central evaluation and accreditation agency, <u>Zentrale Evaluations- und Akkreditierungsagentur (ZEVA)</u>
26. <u>Mit 210 ECTS-Punkte</u>	With 210 ECTS credits	with 210 ECTS points	with 210 ECTS points	with 210 ECTS credit points
27. Den <u>Masterstudiengang Master of Taxation</u>	Master's degree in Taxation	the master's programme <u>Master in Taxation</u>	the <u>Master in Taxation</u> Master's degree	<u>Master in Taxation</u> studies
28. <u>duale Ausbildungsprofil</u>	the dual training profile	The dual training profile	The cooperative training profile	The dual study concept
29. motivierten und kompetenten Nachwuchskräften	motivated and competent young talents	motivated and competent young professionals	motivated and professional employees	motivated and up-and-coming professional talents
30. hohes Fach- und Anwenderwissen	high professional and expert knowledge	high level of expertise and user knowledge	outstanding technical and practical knowledge	a high degree of technical and user-know-how
31. über hohes ... sowie über ausgezeichnete ...	high... as well as excellent	high level of... as well as excellent	outstanding... as well as outstanding	high degree of ... as well as excellent
32. Masterprogramme	master programs	master's programmes	master programmes	master programmes

APPENDIX P

British vs. American English in Higher Education Terminology (Examples)

German	British	American
<i>Abbrecherquote</i>	student attrition rate; drop-out rate	student mortality
<i>Aufbaustudium</i>	postgraduate studies	graduate studies
<i>Aula, Vorlesungssaal</i>	lecture theatre	lecture hall
<i>dualer Studiengang</i>	degree-level apprenticeship; work-study programme	co-op program; cooperative training program
<i>Einschreibung</i>	registration	enrollment
<i>Gasthörer</i>	occasional student	auditor; non-degree-seeking student
<i>Gebührenerlass</i>	exemption from the payment of fees	tuition waiver
<i>Hochschule</i>	higher education provider; higher education institution; university-level institution	higher educational institution (community college, technical college, for-profit universities; post-secondary institution)
<i>Hochschulranking</i>	league tables; rankings; university rankings list	college and university rankings
<i>Hochschulsport</i>	university sports	intermural sports; varsity sports
<i>Hut und Talar</i>	robes (collective term); mortar board and gown; cap and gown	cap and gown
<i>Jahrgang</i>	year	class
<i>Lehrbeauftragte</i>	(external/visiting/associate/occasional) lecturer	adjunct instructor
<i>Lehrenden, Lehrkörper</i>	academic/teaching staff; academics	faculty
<i>Modul, Lehrveranstaltung</i>	module/unit	course
<i>Noten</i>	marks	grades
<i>Notendurchschnitt</i>	average marks/grades	grade point average (GPA)
<i>Praktikum</i>	work placement; work experience; job placement	internship
<i>Promotionsarbeit</i>	doctoral thesis	doctoral dissertation
<i>Prüfungsaufsicht</i>	invigilator	proctor
<i>Seelsorgestelle</i>	chaplaincy	pastoral/spiritual care center
<i>Semesterferien, vorlesungsfreie Zeit</i>	outside term time vacation, non-term time	semester break
<i>Senat</i>	academic board	senate
<i>Spagatprofessor</i>	peripatetic professor	faculty road warrior
<i>Studentenwohnung</i>	hall (of residence)	dorm
<i>Studienanfänger, Erstsemester</i>	newly enrolled student; fresher	freshman
<i>Studiengang</i>	programme; degree course	program
<i>Studiengangssekretärin</i>	programme administrator	program administrator
<i>Studium</i>	studies	academics
<i>Studiuminhalte</i>	courses; degrees	academics
<i>Veranstaltungsverzeichnis</i>	prospectus	course catalog
<i>Vorlesungssaal</i>	lecture theatre	lecture hall
<i>Wintersemester</i>	winter semester; autumn term	fall semester

See also:

Siepmann, D. (2015). *Wörterbuch Hochschule*, Deutscher Hochschulverband

Behmel, A., Neudorfer, K. (2016). *The Foreigner's Guide to German Universities*, ibidem-Verlag

Appendix Q - Sample Transcripts of Recorded Interviews

In addition to the focus group session with university translators, 21 interviews were carried out with university staff in academic and administrative roles. Details are provided in Appendix B about the roles of the participants, the dates of the interviews, and the duration. There were two topics:

Topic A: Anglicisation of the university (RQ2)

Reference material: Past and recent photos of the DHBW VS degree-awarding ceremony, presented in pairs for discussion of change

Topic B: Use of English titles for German-taught degree courses (RQ2, RQ3)

Reference material: List of German-taught degree courses offered at the DHBW that have English titles

The interviews were recorded, transcribed and topic-coded. In order to illustrate the coding method, four of the transcripts are presented below. For the sake of balance, I have selected one interview in German and one in English for each topic. For the sake of variety, they represent views of staff in different roles (programme administrator, international officer, research assistant, professor. The interviews in German are transcribed in *italics*, and I add a summary in English.

For the sake of brevity, the initial part of the dialogue is omitted where I refer to the realia (texts, photos) and explain the task. Also omitted are some utterances I make during the interview to show active listening and encouragement ("Uh-huh", "OK, I see", "Ah, yes", "Really?" "Interesting!", ...) or where I repeat or reformulate a word to check understanding.

Colour coding for analysis:

- **Green**: reasons suggested by the interviewee for the use of English and the adoption of customs/traditions/rituals associated with higher education in the English-speaking world; why and how change came about
- **Yellow**: personal responses to the topic (attitudes, perceptions, beliefs, insights, impressions)
- **Turquoise**: confusion about meaning of particular English/Denglish terms and traditions
- **Purple**: indications of resistance to change, non-compliance

1. Interview with degree programme administrator about Anglicisation of graduation ceremony

Interviewee: Programme administrator (*Studiengangsekretärin*)

Speakers: Pia (P), Interviewer (I)

P: Also, vor allem einmal der Kleiderstil sieht man anders schon wieder auf den Bildern, wie sich das verändert. Ja auch, hier ist jemand mit Jeans, was eigentlich sonst gar nicht geht!

I: [Laughs] Oh, ja, das habe ich gar nicht bemerkt! Das stimmt!

P: Und was hier ganz neu ist seit...? Zwei Jahren oder drei Jahren, zwei Jahren sind **die Talare, da sind jetzt unsere Studenten ganz stolz darauf**, ich glaube die wurden das ja nicht mehr weggeben. Im ersten Jahr war's, da war ich auch dabei, da waren es nur weniger, die es hatten, aber ich meine letztes Jahr waren fast alle, die sich des dann besorgt hatten.

I: Wie heist...?

P: **Der Hut heißt, ich weiß es eben auch nicht.**

I: Auf Englisch sagt man 'Mortarboard'.

P: **Bin am überlegen, aber mir fällt's auch nicht ein.**

I: Nicht Doktorhut, oder?

P: Könnte an die Richtung gehen.... Was immer erstaunlich ist, ist hier haben es auch alle Mädels, 2015 haben sich doch manche, wegen der Eitelkeit, noch geziert. Ich persönlich find, doch gut, **es**

sieht auf der Bühne teilweise etwas trist aus, weil die haben, weil sie sich sonst immer so schick machen, auch mit Frisur und Kleid und so, jetzt sind natürlich alle einheitlich. Das ist... man sieht's auch hier [points to picture pair showing backs of heads and mortarboard, comparing it to corresponding picture of previous ceremony]. Jetzt das Bild so von hinten nur die schwarze Hut, und sonst doch die verschiedenen Gesichte, Charakterien, ja, genau. Ich denke, es kommt mit Sicherheit von Amerika her, dass es einfach, so dieses, man will so ein Bisschen gleich vor'm Abschluss her, oder einfach so dieses College-Stil.

I: Ach so. Meinst Du es kommt eher von Amerika?

P: Ja, würde ich jetzt schon sagen. Aber ich glaub' in England ist es auch so, oder?

I: Ja, ja, und in England nicht nur die Studenten, sondern auch die Professoren haben was an, je nach dem... ein bisschen abgeändert ist, ob es Bachelor ist, Master, und so weiter, aber dass ist gängig. Aber du meinst, es kommt so aus Amerika? War es wegen den Studenten? War es Wunsch der Studenten? Oder kam es eher vom Rektorat, oder von den Professoren?

P: Nein, es kam von der StuV. Also, wir hatten das in dem einen Jahr eigentlich nur so am Rande mitbekommen. Es kam dann immer wieder Anfragen, wo sie das bestellen können, oder wo das ausgegeben wird, aber es läuft ganz autark über die StuV, also hat auch meines Wissens gar nichts mit dem Rektorat zu tun. Das ist also Studenteninitiative.

I: Also, du muss nichts organisieren, oder? Die Studenten...?

P: Gar nichts, nein.

I: Es gibt keine Vorschrift von der Uni?

P: Genau, nee.

I: Weil in England ist vieles vorgeschrieben, genau der Stil, manchmal bisschen Farbe, aber hier gibt's keine...?

P: Hier gibt's keine Vorschriften. Also man sieht ja jetzt auch hier [points to picture] sie hat zum Beispiel keins an ... gut, auf diesem Bild sind's jetzt alle

I: Das ist von früher, obwohl es zweitausendzwoölf war, aber die haben nur Hut an... aber trotzdem Anzug.

P: Ja, dass war ein Jahrgang wo ich betreut habe, die zweitausend neun'er, die haben am zweitausendzwoölf fertig, und da war ein Fotostand, wo sie sich nur mit diesen Huten konnten fotografieren lassen. Das war im Franziskaner, hier sieht's man es am Seiteneingang. Ich glaub' auch, das war das erste Jahr als das ein bisschen aufkam, da war's noch draußen, und noch nicht im offiziellem Teil.

I: Also, sie konnten extra für das Foto das anziehen.

P: Genau, genau.

I: Weil ich andere gesehen habe vom zweitausendzwoölf, wo s keine an hatten.

P: Genau, und ich glaub da waren die Talare, die waren, die haben sie nicht bekommen konnten, und hatten daher nur die Huten zum Bilder machen. Da war ein Stand.

I: Also, was ist die Reaktion dann von euch, und von den Professoren? Wie sehen die das? Wenn es kommt von den Studenten, wie haben die dann reagiert, als die...?

P: Ich denk, also was ich es mitbekommen habe, hat sich jetzt also keine so darüber geäußert. ... Also ich persönlich find's ein wenig schade, weil man eigentlich so diese hübsche Kleider oder so was, die haben, gar nicht mehr sieht. Das es eigentlich so versteckt ist, natürlich vielleicht, so jetzt Einheitsbild ist gleich.

I: Das war mehr der Eindruck, dass es zu einheitlich ist.

P: Jetzt, ja. Ich denke, wenn die sich so stolz fühlen, und einfach doch nochmal ein bisschen größer, dann soll's okay sein. Aber so, wenn ich jetzt so denk, die erste Jahre, wie sie sich zu Teil wirklich schon herrichten und..

I: Und wieso kommt es, dass die Studenten dann...schauen nach Amerika und möchten die Amerikaner nachahmen? Woher kommt ... ist es plötzlich gewesen?

P: Ich denke einfach, weil die Welt viel kleiner geworden ist, ich würde sagen, für die Jungen noch mehr als für uns. Es ist ja nicht mehr so, dass man nach Spanien oder Frankreich möchte, sondern jetzt will man ja nach Australien oder nach... ich glaub' Kanada ist mittlerweile schon 'out', habe ich gehört. Also wenn sich jetzt die Jungen, die zieht's jetzt ganz viele nach Australien, so ganz

weit weg. Einfach so dieses, auch mit dem Bachelor, dass es jetzt nicht mehr das Diplom-Betriebswirt ist, sondern ein Bachelor, das ist jetzt schon dieses Einheitliches Weltweit, das es auch der Drang ist, und einfach so im Laufe der Zeit, das viele ins Ausland gehen, nachher zum arbeiten. Und jetzt bei uns diese große Kanzleien, die Big Fours, die haben weltweit ihre Standorte, ich denke dass ist vielleicht auch ein Grund sein könnte.

Summary: Pia notices the change in dress style that happened two or three years ago, where students now wear robes. They are “very proud of them and wouldn’t want to give this up now”. She isn’t sure what the hat is called. She is surprised that the girls want to wear the regalia, thinking they might be too vain or coy. She regrets the change because they used to put a lot of effort into their hairstyles and outfits, and the overall effect now is sad (triste) and more uniform. She attributes the change to the influence from America, with students wanting to adopt a ‘college style’ (to look more academic?). In her view, one reason why they look to America is that the “world has become smaller”, especially for younger people. They no longer just want to go to Spain and France, but to Australia (Canada is now ‘out’, she has heard.) Other reasons (given at the end of the interview) are the introduction of the Bachelor’s degree to replace the ‘Diplom-Betriebswirt’, the forces of globalisation (“dieses einheitliches Weltweit”), the desire for students to work abroad, and their employers having offices worldwide. The change came about through the efforts of the student union (StuV), and the university noticed it when they started to get enquiries about how to get hold of the regalia. The university management was not involved, and there are no prescriptions regarding the style or how it is worn. The change may have started in 2012, when students could have photographs of themselves taken wearing mortarboards (they hadn’t been able to get hold of gowns in time for the ceremony). Asked about the response from colleagues, she gives her personal view: she finds it a pity that the students can’t show off their pretty dresses/smart clothes, and the overall look is more uniform/standardised. On the other hand, if it makes the graduation ceremony bigger (more people attending), and if it makes the students feel proud, then that’s ok.

2. Interview with deputy head of International Office about Anglicisation of graduation ceremony

Interviewee: Deputy head of International Office - Carola

Speakers: Carola (C), Interviewer (I)

C: OK, I can see the graduation ceremony at the university and I see different pictures from various years, and I can see that there was a big change to now in regards of the dress code, the hats and the formal clothes, so for me it means that the change from 2015 or so the dress is more formal. They have the hat and clothes like in American or British universities, it looks very different if you compare for example with a picture of 2014 where there are different dresses, the female students have sometimes black but also coloured clothes, the male students normally have suits, and more recently years they are all dressed the same way.

I: What do you call this outfit in German, what do you call the hat, and what do you call the...?

C: I do not know exactly what you would call that, because we do not have... in Germany it is not a tradition I would say, I would not know that from my university or from my colleagues that they had similar...

I: What about the past, in Germany... has it never existed?

C: I would say that because we do not have kinds of school uniforms here so we do not have the tradition of these very formal dresses and the hats, or symbols for being graduated, so that was not a tradition that I know from my time in school or university.

I: You mentioned the word ‘symbol’, so there’s been some kind of transition. Why do you think it’s happened?

C: I think that happened on the one side because the society is more and more open and more and more international, so they knew how it works in other countries. And I think it should give a

- certain importance to the ceremony, to the graduation. I mean we always had ceremonies, not only in universities but also in school there were always ceremonies when you get your transcript or records or certificate or whatever, but it's more... nobody knows exactly, if you see the picture you do not know what it is. If you see a picture like... a new picture with a...
- I: In English you call them mortarboards, or caps... and gowns.
- C: Gowns, yes. If you see that you immediately know what happened on the picture, so you see it's a graduation ceremony. You don't know if it's Bachelor's or Master's or... but you see, it's like if you see a wedding picture, then you know exactly 'Ah that's a marriage'.
- I: So in the past it could be any kind of prize giving.
- C: Any kind of prize, any kind of more or less important certificate...
- I: Not necessarily academic.
- C: No not necessarily academic, not necessarily the final achievement, it could be something in between the study programme or something from the town or... it's not even related to the university, you can't see that, but the pictures with the gowns are... everybody sees it's academic and it has to do with the graduation.
- I: OK. Do you know who instigated the change? Was it from the students, or was it from the university management side, or if not who do you imagine brought this change about?
- C: I don't know, but I think that the students were at least involved and were asked about that at the beginning. I do not know if they asked them every year if they wanted to have it like this, or if it's now a kind of a... tradition now, is it now defined that they'll do it like this all the time. I was a bit critical about that because I think it's not so common still to have that in Germany, so I was a bit... I wasn't quite clear if I think it's good. The first time was 'Oh no!' it's more and more influence from other countries and it's not German. But when I saw the pictures I think, yes that is a kind of importance to the ceremony and to the study and so now I think it's a good idea. And they look very equal on the picture, that's the other side. When I was young I never wanted to wear a student uniform so when I heard that's so normal in other countries... well I wouldn't want to do that. But now I think that with my own kids in school it would be better because it makes them feel together, it makes clear they go to this or this school, and the difference is if the parents cannot afford the clothes then it's easier for them to be more comfortable.
- I: In America and UK the faculty, the professors at such a ceremony, they would also wear this kind of academic regalia and it might be different depending on whether... on their particular role in the university. Can you imagine this trend happening at our university, that it's not just the students who wear... who have adopted this tradition but the teaching faculty? And if so would you see it positively, or negatively, or what would you think?
- C: I cannot imagine that they would do so, that they would be willing to be kind of dressed. And I don't think for me because I didn't know that, and I think many Germans do not know that also staff is dressed with this ceremony, so maybe for me it wouldn't feel better if they would do that.
- I: Carola, you were saying that when you were a student you wouldn't have wanted to go along with this tradition of wearing this kind of uniform. Could you explain why you would have not wanted it?
- C: Because a uniform in my age was something bad, it was not popular, even policemen or soldiers were not popular in my generation so because we wanted to be more free and individual, and would not like to be compared with Nazi Germany and the uniforms and everybody has the same thing and the same idea. So that was very strong and at my youth it was not common to show the German flag, to sing the German national hymn for example... the feeling was, if you do that they can put you in the very right corner...
- I: So it was associated with being rather too right-wing and... yes, but it wasn't that long ago that you graduated Carola? You're still young...
- C: Yes, but my school time was between 74 and 89 and that was the period where we heard a lot about that time, we heard a lot in school, and uniform... had just a negative aspect for us. So if I had been asked for graduation if I would like to wear this I would say no because I'm an individual, it was my... of course I had the feeling to be in a community with my classmates and so on, but...

- I: So how do you explain this transition to wearing the gowns and so on, this actually was student-led, it came from the students themselves it wasn't the institution. How would you explain this change in the students?
- C: I think they see it differently and Germany was after that more relaxed with their own history, yes because...
- I: It's the distance?
- C: It's the distance on the one side but also the new and modern Germany, and things you could have been proud of, and astonishingly we sometimes talk about that at the world championship in 2006 in Germany and there was a big change, I felt that. Since then it's normal to show the German flag, to be more, kind of... a new patriotism in Germany.
- I: A patriotism that doesn't have the past associations...
- C: A positive because we have a great country, we have a free and democratic country we can be proud of, our achievements... we are a liberal, modern country.
- I: So this confidence allows students to actually say we want to wear...
- C: I think they do not have the negative thoughts about uniforms, and they want to show exactly what we talked about, that it's an important event for them... it's a kind of being closely related to the home university, things like that.
- C: Thank you very much.

3. Interview with research assistant about English titles for German-taught degrees

Interview with Research Assistant (*Wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiterin*) – Hannah
Speakers: Hannah (H), Interviewer (I)

- I: So, as you see there's a list here of degree courses that are taught at the Duale Hochschule Baden-Württemberg, and all of these degrees have English titles even though they're taught almost exclusively in German. So I'd just like you to comment on them, I'm interested to know why they're in English and not in German, and what do you think about this?
- H: OK, should I just go down the list or...?
- I: You can go down the list, or if you see patterns... just general impressions, you don't need to comment on each one individually. Unless you think there is one of particular interest.
- H: OK. I mean, in general I think in Germany people have the impression that if they use English titles for degree programmes, or anything really related to academia, that English may sound more modern, mundane [Clarification: Hannah means *mondän* = sophisticated], you know, international... I don't know, that's just the feeling I have, that people thinks it makes it... sound better or more attractive, I don't know. And then when I look at the list, I mean there are certain words that are definitely being used in German, like Controlling and Consulting, you would use these two words in a German context as well.
- I: Consulting as well?
- H: Consulting, yes definitely. And like all these people that work at consultancies like PricewaterhouseCoopers, EY whatever, like they would use these terms definitely.
- I: Not *Beratung* or...
- H: Not so much any more, I don't believe, and they call themselves consultants so, you know...
- I: I thought they called themselves *Berater*...
- H: Yeah. I think consultants is probably more common, and controlling... I mean, that's just a German word almost to me now, controlling, consulting... and then other things, like Digital Business Management, and then I saw another one, Software Engineering. And Application Management, like... looking at it, you know, I'd have no idea what it is... what's the content, what is being taught, like it just it sounds odd to me you know it's not really a title that speaks to me: Like there's titles that, you know, are fairly straightforward like Food Management, Marketing Management... I mean management is like a word that I think people, German people, really like it basically applies something, you know, something high up, something... you know, you're a manager, you're taking the course, you're taking the programme, you're going to be a manager,

- you're going to be someone high up like a CEO or something like that, I think that's why management is being used a lot.
- I: Just to elevate the status?
- H: Yes, to elevate the status, but also to elevate the status of the people in the programme almost, I feel, like you know you're talking about your... what you take at university, your thing... oh, it's something, something, management, like automatically you know it sounds like oh, he's going to be a manager, she's going to be a manager, so that's just I think what...
- I: What would a German equivalent be?
- H: Oh God... management, it's like...
- I: Say, Marketing Management, you'd have a marketing manager, who would the marketing manager be?
- H: Marketing *Leiter* maybe? Marketing *Leiter*? But that, like even Marketing *Leiter*, I mean I imagine there's not a whole lot of companies using that term still. *Leiter*. I mean you hear that, you know like *Leiter* of a department, or *Leiter* of a team or something like that, but it's not really used any more I feel. They use manager, it just makes it sound more, you know, modern and, you know... we're international. But some of these titles they're really like... Data Science, to me that can be... all nothing.
- I: Are there any that you think would be better in German, given that the courses are actually taught in German? Do you see a justification for having English titles?
- H: Well it really depends, like you'd have to look at the structure of the course and what are they aimed at, like do people want to work internationally afterwards, that would make sense to me. Or, yes, actually courses within the programme being taught in English, then that also would make more sense to me. And some of them, I mean maybe it's just to have an English title, sometimes the title... you know, automatically you have all the right associations, whereas others like, I don't know, Virtual Engineering... *Projekt Engineering*?
- I: Yes, what I've done is, I've put the German words in italics, to show that it's a hybrid.
- H: Yes, so these for example are really weird to me because just looking at it, I could not think about, you know, any content that's taught in that programme. And also *Arztassistent*, I think why not leave it in German, because I imagine *Arztassistent*, a Physician Assistant, is something very particular in Germany like it's not even in Germany that's... even the programme... why translate it into English, I don't know, it doesn't make a whole lot of sense to me. Then you know, Case Management, that's something I can relate to, it's a term that's being used.
- I: So d'you think that the trend comes from outside the university, because it's... English is used in those professions so often, so that's why they do it?
- H: I think so, although not in all these professions, I don't feel, like *Sozial- und Gesundheitswesen*... not that I know, because you know that's not my field of work, but I feel like certain words are being used but not necessarily the whole terminology in these fields, certainly not English, and I think it's a mix-off [maybe Hannah means 'trade-off' here], you know, these universities realise what's happening outside or in academia as a whole and then they kind of adapt.
- I: D'you think that, given that there are these English titles, they should be offering more than, say, two percent of the courses through the medium of English?
- H: Definitely. I mean, if not it's just... it's almost like a false promise, you know, using all these English terms to describe the programme but then nothing is in English and it doesn't... to me the English title kind of suggests at least part of that whole programme is being taught in English, and you're going to learn about that whole international side of the field.
- I: To my knowledge there are... there are no English taught courses in any of them apart from Technical Management where there is one course that is taught through the medium of English but English itself has been abolished, but in most of the other ones these are courses that you have to be a German speaker to take the course, but then maybe one course within that programme is taught through the medium of English. The same would probably go for the Masters in Business Management, where possibly it might... there might be one lecture in English but it would be predominantly through German.

- H: Yes, I mean, it doesn't make a whole lot of sense to me but then I'm also like, anything management, like any name that kind of includes management like Masters in Business Management and then, up there, Food Management... all these terms like, I have a problem translating them into German, and like finding terms that... I mean, Food Management... and sometimes it sounds a bit, I think it almost sounds more ordinary if you translate it into German, you know like Facility Management for example, I mean that's also a term that's fairly known, even popular, in Germany I mean all these companies they call themselves Facility Manager XYZ and I think if you translate it into German like what is it... *Hausverwaltung*, if it's really, I mean *Verwaltung* in itself is something like, I don't know, it's something really bureaucratic and then *Hausverwaltung*... it's not something you'd go and take at university, or *Immobilienverwaltung*, something like that, so it's really the English kind of elevates it but it also allows for you to make different connections content-wise, I think.
- I: I was interested in this one, that's why I put the 'sic' there, meaning I don't know whether it's a mistake.
- H: Personal *und* Organisation.
- I: Yes, because all of the others are in English, when I read the word 'Personal' I thought it was a false friend, personal meaning *persönlich*, but do you think it's actually a German title?
- H: Yes, because *Personal und Organisation* that's something that almost always goes together in academia and Germany, *Personal und Organisation* you know, so I don't think that's meant to be in English but it's also really weird because if you look at the other ones, you know, some of them are and some of them not... so, yes, it doesn't look like someone has looked at all of them together, like they're now listed, and thought about shouldn't we be consistent in what we call our programmes, you know, shouldn't we think about... if it's taught in German shouldn't we think about if possible giving them German titles. Also because we do have, you know, the odd person from abroad looking at the website and these programmes suggest they're being taught in English, so that's a bit... that's an issue I think.
- I: So if you do have an English title you should add some explanation for the reader so they know that the courses are taught almost exclusively in German.
- H: I think so. I mean that's only just fair, I feel, because you're using these titles because you want to make yourself look more international, more worldly. Then, you know, if you actually attract these people and they look at it, shouldn't they know that it's actually being taught in German. I mean it only makes sense to me.
- I: Because it might imply that their English is better than it is. So would you suggest any changes to the institution, having seen this?
- H: I mean one thing I think is important is that you have speaking titles, like you look at the name of the programme and you have an idea what is being taught, and...
- I: What do you mean by speaking titles?
- H: Like a title that speaks to you...
- I: Ah, I see. Yes, because with Application Management, you didn't really know what it meant.
- H: I have no idea. I have no idea. Application Management, like an application to me, like an app, a cellphone app will come to my mind... so I have no idea what they're talking about. And also Business Engineering, I mean I don't come from the engineering field so there isn't, like... there's just a blank, in my head, like I have no idea what they're talking about.
- I: Yes, when I selected these, most of the English titles were from the *Wirtschaft*, the management side, and the engineering faculty most of the titles are in German. Also social work, they're just a few, Case Management... but they were predominantly from the business faculty, that they'd chosen English titles.
- H: Makes sense, yes, makes sense to me. I mean, the *Sozialwesen* and also the whole *Technikbereich*, I think they're more placed... or you locate them more in a national even regional context that make up this school here, whereas the school of business or the business faculty, whatever you want to call it, I think they tend to feel it's attractive or more exciting to use all these fancy English words, all the terminology, even if they don't know what it actually means. It makes it sound more worldly and more... we're international, which is really a lie when you think

- about it, because these programmes are not aimed at an international audience. They're strictly aimed at a German audience really, so as I said I would have to really think about it, think hard about what to call them instead, like Food Management... Speise Management?
- I: Presumably there was a German term before we translated it.
- H: I don't know. I don't know, maybe there was, if it's a new programme probably not. But Data Science also, like that to me, I understand what it means I think and what it could be, but then it wouldn't... I don't see it as a programme.
- I: Could it be a kind of chicken and egg thing, well I don't know what happened first, that you had this German title and then somebody somewhere translated it into English and something got lost in translation.
- H: Maybe. I wonder. I know that it did happen before, that we had some programme in German and I think then it was decided we should give it an English name, for some reason, but I don't remember which one it was... do you remember, was it Technical Management?
- I: Well I think that one never had a German name.
- H: Do you think? Was it *Technische BVL*, or something like that?
- I: That would be a question for [the academic director] I think.
- H: Yes, because I know that one of the programmes here at the *Standort* we had this discussion, let's give it an English name. And that was Technical Management.
- I: And Controlling and Consulting, it might have been that.
- H: I don't know, maybe it was that.
- I: And I can't think of any... well International Business is obvious, or International Marketing, I think for a while it was *Internationales Marketing*...
- H: It was *Internationales Marketing*.
- I: And then it was changed just to International, the -es was dropped. Then it might make sense because it is an international programme, but my interest is in the ones that as you said are not aimed at an international audience.
- H: Yes, it depends who the audience is but I mean if I look at, E-Government and E-Health also are fairly common in German... like all these 'E- something something' you would probably use, because there's not really a translation, I mean... *Elektronische... Gesundheitswissenschaften?* I don't know.
- I: So by the time they created the course it was already a well-established...
- H: Well yes, I suppose so. And you know, that's where I really have... that's what I really find strange because then if you use these terms then you should... I think at least fifty percent of courses should then be taught in English, at least. Because it suggests to me that, you know, you're not just looking at it from one national perspective but you're looking at the whole thing from an international perspective, you know, which is important in certain fields.
- I: OK. Is there anything else you'd like to add?
- H: No... I think this is something that...
- I: It's been very interesting, so I'll... stop this now.

4. Interview with Professor of Social Work about English titles for German-taught courses.

<p>Interviewee: Professor of Social Work (<i>Professorin</i>) - Tara</p> <p>Speakers: Tara (T), Interviewer (I)</p>

- I: Das ist eine Liste von Studiengängen an der DHBW, die ausschließlich auf deutsch unterrichtet werden, oder fast ausschließlich, trotzdem haben die englische Überschriften.
- T: Master of Governance, haben Sie die auch? ...
- I: Das ist...
- T: Ah, ja, genau.
- I: Die Frage ist, warum sind die auf Englisch? Also, das sind nicht Studiengänge, wo man sagen kann, fünfzig Prozent der Vorlesungen sind auf Englisch gehalten, sondern hier manche haben

überhaupt keine – aber trotzdem englische Überschriften. Sie müssen nicht unbedingt alle einzelne besprechen, aber ganz allgemein...

T: Naja, ich glaub' es gibt Begriffe wie 'Marketing Management', die, also Management ist fast ein deutscher Begriff, den benutzen wir sogar im Sozialwesen, ja? Und Marketing genauso. Ich weiß nicht, wie ich es übersetzen würde. Ich weiß, es ist nicht Öffentlichkeitsarbeit. Es ist ja verkaufen, Marketing. Und selbst in Sozialwesen hat es eins so gehalten, dass sagt man jetzt so, wir sind abhängig davon, wir sind schon etwas mehr bewußter mit welcher Worte wir wählen, aber wir sagen zum Beispiel auch 'Case-Management'. Und ich weiß, wir benutzen 'Case Management' auch in Abgrenzung zum 'Fall-Management'...

I: Okay...

T: Interessanterweise, und beim 'Fall-Management' haben wir das 'Management' auch. Sehr auch spannend oder? Also, da haben wir die deutsche und die...?

I: Was ist 'Fall-Management'?

T: 'Fall-Management' ist, ja...

I: Fallstudien, oder?

T: Eigentlich was ähnliches wie, es geht auch darum, wie koordiniere ich die Hilfen in einem Fall, aber 'Case-Management' ist ein zertifizierter Begriff. Also wenn ich 'Case-Managerin' bin, dann habe ich, also ich kann mich nicht Case-Managerin benennen, wenn ich nicht eine bestimmte Ausbildung durchlaufen hat. Und Fall-Management macht jede Sozialarbeiterin.

I: Dass hätte ich verstanden, wie case management. Aber 'Case-Management ist eine zertifizierte...

T: Deswegen ist es auch spannend, dass unsere Studiengang so heißt.

I: Uh-hm?

T: Ja, weil ich könnte mir vorstellen, das ist nicht geschützt, aber ich könnte mir vorstellen, dass die Vereinigung 'Case-Management', dass die sagen "Hallo? Wieso habt Ihr da einen Studiengang?". Aber die schliessen sich mit Sozialer Arbeit ab, in so fern dürfen sie das. Aber, ja... Wenn ich mir so die anderen, es sind viele Begriffe drin, wie Food Management, weiß ich nicht, ob das wirklich Englisch so heißen muss. Was war der Hintergrund? Ich kann's Ihnen nicht sagen. Ich weiß, dass wir uns in meinem Studiengang überlegt haben, ob wir den Zusatz 'Disability Studies' nehmen, weil das einfach gerade auf wissenschaftliche Ebene der Begriff ist, dient das neuste Forschungsgebiet, das erklärt wie Menschen behindert gemacht werden, und das heißt 'Disability Studies'. Und wenn wir mit der Zeit gehen wollen, und wir vernetzen uns ja auch europaweit, oder weltweit vielmehr, dann haben wir schon auch gesagt, naja, dann müssen wir eigentlich diese Begrifflichkeit reinnehmen, was aber in unserem Fall die Praxisvertreter in der Fachkommission gesagt haben – wollen sie nicht. Also, wir dürfen unsere Studiengang nicht so umbenennen. Weil die gesagt haben, wir wollen keine Anglizismen.

I: Haben sie das ausdrücklich gesagt? Oder war das so, mehr so, zwischen den Zeilen?

T: Ich glaube, sie haben das ausdrücklich gesagt, aber mit der Begründung, und das kann ich auch nachvollziehen, dass die Organisationen der Behindertenhilfe sich da nicht erkennen, wenn da nicht mehr Behinderung...

I: Ist es weil es Anglizismen waren, oder ist eher, weil Leute es nicht verstehen werden?

T: Sie verstehen es nicht. Eher das. Nicht, dass sie grundsätzlich die Ablehnung hatten.

I: Nicht, dass sie Angehörige der Verein der Deutsche Sprache sind, sondern eher, da es eine Kommunikationshindernis ist, wenn es auf Englisch wäre.

T: Genau. Und ich meine...ja? ... Und das müssen wir tatsächlich in der Sozialen Arbeit schon auch sehen, da wissen Sie, wir haben bei uns wirklich ja immer zwei Seelen in unserem Brust. Die eine ist, die Fachsprache und da müssen wir uns durchaus auch europäischen Standards anpassen, finde ich, ja, also wissen, welche Sprache wird europäisch oder weltweit eigentlich benutzt. Und die andere Sache ist, dass wir die Menschen verstehen müssen, mit - für die wir arbeiten. Und wenn wir zu wissenschaftlich, dass es zum Beispiel Englisch, es ist einfacher, englische Texte, glaube ich, zu lesen, zu schreiben, die sind einfacher geschrieben, die sind nicht in einem so wahnsinns Wissenschaftssprache geschrieben, wie deutschen Texte, also zumindest bei Sozialwissenschaften. Und das verstehen, nahe zu alle.

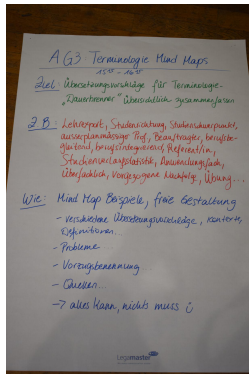
- I: Ist das ein Argument, dann, dafür, dass mehr auf Englisch, das es mehr englischsprachige Vorlesungen geben werde? Weil, dass ist für mich die Frage, die Widerspruch. Also, einige diese Begriffe sind schon etabliert, dass sie fast wie Deutsch verstanden werden. Oder wir sind 'global' und die internationale Sprache und so weiter. Aber trotzdem, wenn man sich eine Dose vorstellt. Das Etikett ist auf Englisch, aber der Inhalt ist Deutsch. Das ist das, was mich interessiert.
- T: Ich glaube, aus dem Grund, den Sie vornerhin gesagt haben. Ich würde die sozialwissenschaftliche Studiengänge schwierig finden auf Englisch, weil die deutsche Studierenden dann eben auch nur Englisch als Zweitsprache sprechen. Und es gibt ganz extreme Haltungsentwicklungen, Selbstreflexionen, und wenn ich dann nicht genau verstehe, und wenn ich nicht die Worte finde, dass merke ich im Austausch mit Freunden, wenn ich über tiefergehende Sachen auf Englisch besprechen, dann ist es schwierig, dann muss ich das umschreiben, dann muss man die Zeit haben, dies zu umschreiben. Ich glaube nicht, dass wir da den Standard halten können, die wir jetzt haben, mit den Zielen, die wir vermitteln wollen.
- I: Uh-hum. Was wäre dann 'Governance' Sozialer Arbeit. Wie, wenn man theoretisch behaupten sollte, dass es ein deutsches Wort sein sollte, wie würden Sie...
- T: Da habe ich mich auch überlegt. Habe ich tatsächlich auch im Dictionary nachgeschlagen. Was wollen sie mir den sagen, mit dieser Bezeichnung. Ich habe keine entsprechende gefunden. Also es geht um Leitung, es geht um politische Aufgaben, politisches Engagement.
- I: Strategische Leitung?
- T: Strategische Leitung. Aber vielleicht könnte man sagen 'Steuerung', sogar? Aber ich fande es auch schwierig.
- I: Und 'Management'?
- T: Das habe ich vornerhin gesagt. Management ist schon so 'drin'. Um, Organisation. Auch wieder Steuerung eigentlich. Steuerung, Organisation. Oder wie würden Sie es übersetzen?
- I: Ich werde aufhören jetzt, dann können wir es weiter besprechen.

Summary: The interviewee notes that many of the terms are well-established in German, and would find it difficult to translate them. Also, some terms are used to draw distinctions, e.g. 'Fall-Management' and 'Case-management', the latter referring to a certified qualification in Germany. She also notes a tension between what the faculty would like (more in English because this is the language of research) and what the students' employeres would like (stick to German, because this will be better understood by practitioners and their clients in the domestic context – English would "hinder communication". She explains "English is the language of science/research, and we have to comply with European standards, but ton the other hand we have to understand the people we are working with, and for." In her view, academic English is simpler and easier to understand than convoluted German academic texts. The courses should be taught in English, however, because of the amount of reflection and analysis required – it would be too much of a challenge for students to do this in a foreign language.

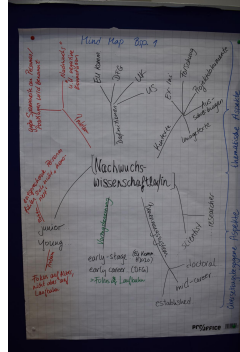
Nb: The transcripts for the other 17 interviews can be provided on request.

Strategies for Translating Tricky German HE Terminology – Workshop Results

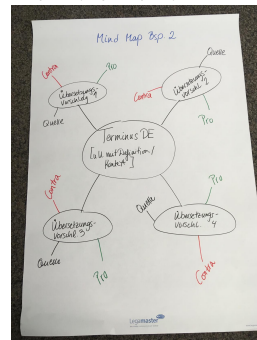
5. Netzwerktreffen der Hochschulübersetzer/innen, Mannheim, 3. Mai 2018 - AG3 Ein Begriff – Viele Entsprechungen: Terminologie Mind Maps



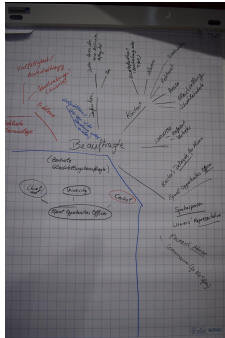
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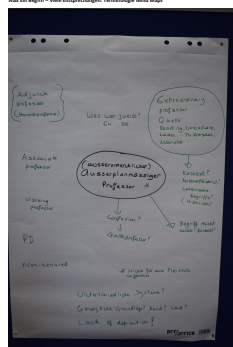
5. Netzwerktreffen der Hochschulübersetzer/innen, Mannheim, 2. Mai 2015 – AG3 Ein Begriff – Viele Entsprechungen: Terminologie Mind Maps



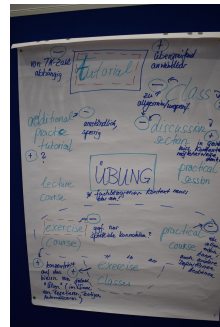
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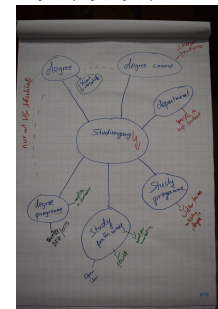
5. Netzwerktreffen der Hochschulübersetzer/innen, Mannheim, 2. Mai 2018
 6/19 Die Band 11 – Meine Entdeckungsjahre: Technische Bildung



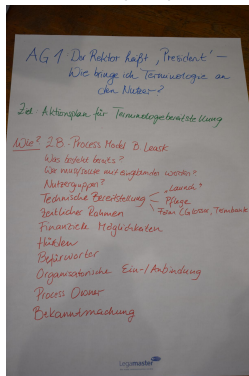
AGB Ein Begriff – Viele Entsprechungen: Technologie Blind Maps



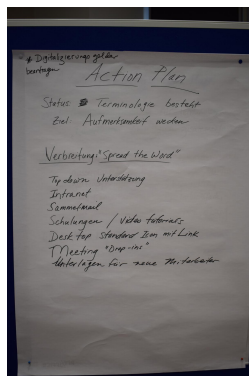
5. Netzwerkstelle der HochschulübersetzerInnen, Mannheim, 2. Mai 2008 –
 ASt Eintrag – Viele Entsprechungen: Terminologie Mind Maps



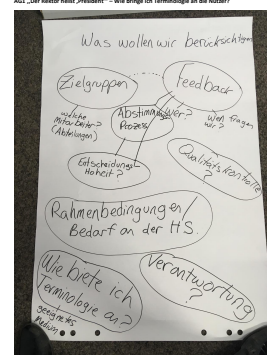
5. Netzwerktreffen der Hochschulübersetzer/innen, Mannheim, 3. Mai 2018 – AG1 „Der Rektor heißt ‚President‘“ – Wie bringe ich Terminologie an die Nutzer?



5. Netzwerktreffen der Hochschulübersetzer*innen, Mannheim, 3. Mai 2018 – AG1 „Der Rektor heißt ‚Präsident‘“ – Wie bringe ich Terminologie an die Nutzer?



5. Netzwerktreffen der Hochschulübersetzer/innen, Mannheim, 3. Mai 2018 – 2018: Das Netzwerk trifft. Präsidentin: Mirjam Leber, Übersetzerin an die Natur.



<https://www.uni-mannheim.de/servicestelle-fuer-uebersetzung/netzwerktreffen/#c63655>, accessed 18 July 2018